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# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

46,872

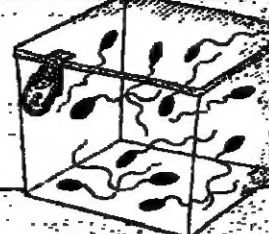
Exclusive extract from the revealing new biography

**Pinter**  
His life and work  
G2 with Eudora and Heather



Should DB be allowed her dead husband's baby?

**Whose sperm is it anyway?**  
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Education

**Has Labour done a U-turn on selection?**  
G2 pages 10/11

Disgraced former minister and lobbyist abandon £10m case at last minute

# Liar and a cheat

## New evidence halts MP's libel suit

David Hencke, David Leigh and David Palfister

**N**EIL Hamilton, the disgraced former minister, yesterday walked away from a £10 million libel suit against the Guardian over the "cash for questions" scandal hours before the case was due to start today.

The former Department of Trade and Industry minister abandoned the case and agreed to pay some of the Guardian's costs after a bitter two-year battle in which he recruited 421 Conservative MPs and peers, including Lady Thatcher, Lord Archer and members of the Cabinet to change the law to bring his action.

Ian Greer, the parliamentary lobbyist accused of acting as a middleman for the payments, also dropped his action and agreed to pay some of the paper's costs.

Alan Rusbridger, editor of the Guardian, said: "The decision by Neil Hamilton and Ian Greer must be one of the most astonishing legal cave-ins in the history of the law of libel. Last night, press statements issued by both Greer and Hamilton falsely claimed that the Guardian had made the first settlement offer. It was the last of hundreds of lies both men have told in the course of the case — to the public, the lawyers and (it may be) to each other."

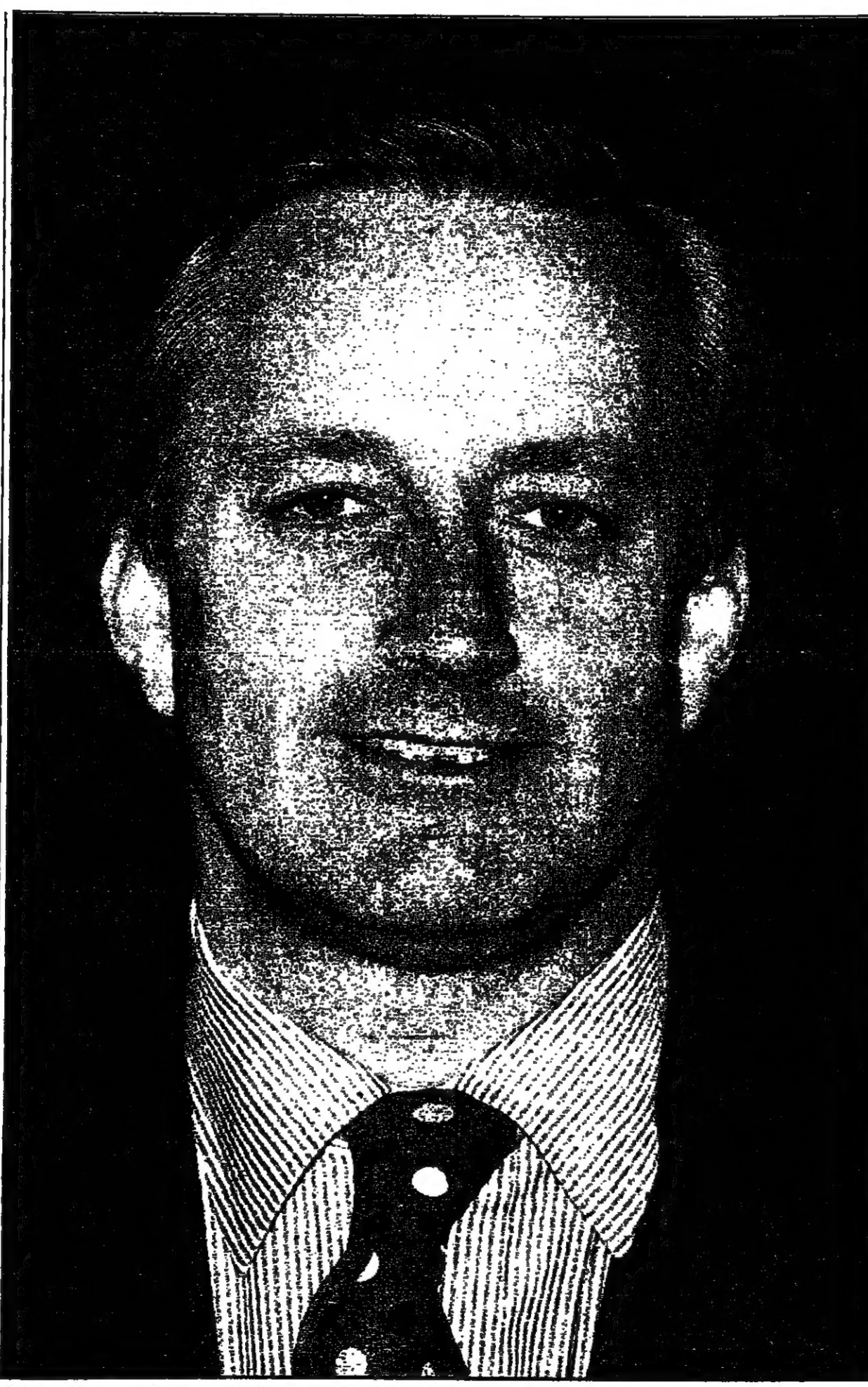
The Guardian called last night for the papers in the case to be examined by the Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Downey, the parliamentary commissioner and the Inland Revenue.

But today the Guardian reveals for the first time the extent of Mr Hamilton's covert links with Mr Greer and the way money — amounting to tens of thousands of pounds in £50 notes — was passed to the lobbyist and the MP in plain brown envelopes.

We also expose the network of MPs built up by Mr Greer, including Tim Smith, the former minister who resigned after the Guardian first accused him of taking money for asking questions in Parliament. Sir Michael Greville, chairman of the backbench trade and industry committee, Sir Peter Hordern, MP for Horsham, and Sir Andrew Bowden, MP for Brighton Kemptown.

The Guardian had subpoenaed John Major and Michael Heseltine to give evidence in the case. This led to the Government handing over documents to the newspaper's lawyers, Geoffrey Robertson, QC and Geraldine Proudler, which were crucial to the action. They were intended to give whether Mr Hamilton had disclosed his financial relationship with the Mr Greer, during the inquiry into the affair in 1994 organised by Sir Robin Butler, the Cabinet Secretary.

The libel trial would have included first hand evidence



Neil Hamilton: ended two-year battle by agreeing to pay some of Guardian's costs

## Questions for cash. . .

"Sometimes he [Mr Greer] would ask me bluntly whether Mr Al Fayed had his money ready."

"Mr Hamilton was as persistent as Mr Greer, if not more so, in asking for his envelope."

— Mohamed Al Fayed's ex-personal assistant

"I remember on several occasions that prior to a meeting with Mr Hamilton, Mr Al Fayed would make a remark . . . that he was coming to collect his money and would prepare an envelope for him with a bundle of £2,500 (in) notes in my presence."

— Mr Al Fayed's secretary

"On at least two occasions when I was sitting at the front desk, an envelope was brought down to me from Mr Al Fayed's office and I was informed that Mr Hamilton would be stopping by to collect the envelope."

— Mr Al Fayed's security man

Comment

## Blustering all the way to a cop-out

**SELDOM** in the long and chequered history of the libel law can there have been a more humiliating cave-in. For two years now Neil Hamilton and Ian Greer have blustered vigorously and noisily about their utter innocence and this paper's utter guilt. Mr Hamilton persuaded his fellow Conservative MPs to overturn 300 years of constitutional history in order to let him have his day in court. Possibly without the support of Sir James Goldsmith this time, he went, cap-in-hand, to solicit backbench contributions to his cause. Barely three weeks ago he issued a boastful press release revealing that he would expose the Guardian's "corruption" and our peddling of "sensational fantasy". Both Mr Hamilton and Mr Greer continued blustering all the way to the court door — and then dropped out.

Their backers in this heroic fight for truth must be curious as to why such a crusade should have been so mutely abandoned at the 11th hour. We can help them. Mr Hamilton and Mr Greer are liars — and both knew they had been found out. The accumulation of evidence that mounted against both men would have been utterly damning had the case ever proceeded. Mr Hamilton, in particular, would have been shown to have lied to virtually everybody who had ever had cause to inquire into his affairs. The case would further have shown that the Guardian's original claims about cash for questions were entirely true — though they represented but the tip of an iceberg. Mr Hamilton was not an isolated bad apple — though he has for many years been earning considerable sums on the back of his parliamentary career via Ian Greer's lobbying firm. A nauseating portrait would have emerged of MPs on the take and of Mr Greer's insidious, spider's web caught up dozens of MPs, high and low. If there are two men more relieved than Mr Hamilton and Mr Greer not to be in court this week, they are surely John Major and Michael Heseltine, no longer required to come and attempt on oath to defend the indefensible.

The ways of the law are curious. During the course of preparing for a libel trial each side is obliged to surrender such papers, accounts and memorandums as may be relevant. They may all be used in court: but if a plaintiff suffers from cold feet at the last minute the papers must all be returned and (presumably) forgotten. So the account of events in the Guardian today is, inevitably, incomplete — a glimpse of a revealed pattern of greed and deception which should be of grave concern to the Prime Minister and all those concerned for parliamentary democracy. Today we urge Mr Major to call in all the documents. We hope Sir Gordon Downey, the new man now responsible for parliamentary standards, does likewise. The Inland Revenue would certainly find much to interest them. It might even be fruitful for the Director of Public Prosecutions to ask for a set. In any other democracy, MPs who secretly take money from millionaires to advance their causes in Parliament are put behind bars. In Britain, they stand for re-election. That is the simple, staggering truth about a Parliament which connives at corruption under the pretence of defending the privileges of its members.

The British position has been justified by the comfortable theory that Parliament can punish its own miscreants, after an investigation by the Privileges Committee and its report to the House. But the Privileges Committee is a jurisprudential joke. It has no investigative procedures, no legal methods (such as cross-examination) to test for truth. It is the committee of a gentleman's club, with an in-built Government majority, astute only to ensure that those who are caught not disclosing secret payments should be thrashed with a feather.


It is too early to judge what difference the Nolan reforms will make. MPs now have more extensive disclosure duties — a "code of conduct" and a Parliamentary Commissioner to investigate complaints. It is not too early to judge Mr Hamilton. Lord Nolan specified seven qualities needed by an elected MP: selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership. Mr Hamilton is without a single one. He is not fit to hold office.



## Inside

<b>Britain</b> Northern Ireland moved closer to the resumption of terror after Loyalist prisoners said they no longer recognised the ceasefire.	<b>World News</b> President Clinton's Mideast summit was back on track when Yasser Arafat shook off Egyptian advice and said he would attend as promised.	<b>Finance</b> Eurotunnel may be placed into administration under French law unless agreement is reached on £8 billion bank borrowings.	<b>Sport</b> Everton manager Joe Royle joined in the chase for AC Milan striker George Weah. The asking price is around £11 million.
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CORRUPTION IN THE COMMONS

The former minister was pocketing cash from two sources



October 1994... Neil Hamilton, with his wife Christine, brandishes a biscuit given to him during a school visit and jokes that he will have to register the gift

Chain of events that led to the unmasking of 'Mr B' - the MP who collected his pay-offs in Park Lane

The rise and fall of a double

David Leigh

THE secret money that Neil Hamilton took as a backbencher was of two kinds: cash in envelopes from Mohamed Al Fayed, the owner of Harrods, and "commissions" from the lobbyist Ian Greer. The sums added up to tens of thousands of pounds.

whether his envelopes were ready. One of those envelopes was prepared by Mr Al Fayed in 1987 shortly before a free trip to the Ritz Hotel in Paris, which the tycoon had arranged for Mr Hamilton and his wife. It contained more than £2,000 and was left at the reception desk at Park Lane.

Hamilton in his series of parliamentary letters, meetings and questions on Mr Al Fayed's behalf, during his long-running war with rival tycoon Tiny Rowland of Lonrho.

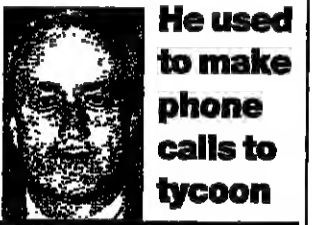
Greer. He had narrowly escaped exposure for this once, during a Privileges Committee inquiry in 1989. But the truth was finally bound to come out if Mr Hamilton's libel trial went ahead.

visers or directors of the company... if for no other good reason than one has a substantial number of friends in the House of Commons, and it is unnecessary to do so.

"B". And MP "B" was how the recipient of cash was anonymously described in the Privileges Committee report published in July 1990.

that, Mr Hamilton received commission payments from Mr Greer at the relevant dates. It has thus come to light that MP "B" was Mr Hamilton.

made by Mr Hamilton during the inquiry of his financial link with Mr Greer. Mr Hamilton therefore deceived his departmental boss, the Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine. He also deceived the Prime Minister, the Chief Whip, Richard Ryder, and the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Robin Butler.



He used to make phone calls to tycoon



He first took Greer's money in 1986

Midnight meeting where bluff began

THE LEGAL BATTLE

'He was handed pearl-handled revolver and refused it'

Brian Whitaker

IT SEEMED like a golden opportunity. Neil Hamilton had won a libel case before and he could do it again. When he sued the BBC in 1988 they had coughed up £20,000 damages, plus £225,000 costs, without even presenting their own side of the case in court.

before, so we're much better prepared. If that, they were not prepared at all. Mr Hamilton had been on the take for years but had been careless in covering his tracks. He concealed it for a time by declaring only a fraction of it in the register of members' interests and, if necessary, by lying.

that afternoon and wanted to know Mr Hamilton's intentions. Mr Ryder and Sir Robin left him alone to consider his future. "He was handed the pearl-handled revolver and refused to use it," one cabinet source said later. Mr Hamilton called Peter Carter-Ruck, the prominent libel lawyer, and instructed him to issue a writ against the Guardian.

"business as usual" facade, inaugurating a Local Business Partnership scheme at Bexhill, East Sussex. While driving from Bexhill to a Chamber of Commerce lunch near Gatwick, he received a phone call from No 10 summoning him back to London.

initially thwarted by a 300-year-old law. Article 9 of the 1689 Bill of Rights states: "The Freedom of Speech and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court of place out of Parliament."

lege in order to allow a libel action to proceed. The bill, with its amendment as clause 13, finally became law in last month and Mr Hamilton, having waived his privilege, resumed the action.

Lobby links turned in handsome profit

COMPANIES AND QUESTIONS

SOON after he became an MP in 1983, Neil Hamilton linked up with Ian Greer, one of the country's top lobbyists. The pair had a profitable relationship, with Mr Hamilton regularly asking questions in the House and lobbying ministers for Mr Greer's clients. They included:

- Firm: Harrods. Aim: Owner Mohammed Al Fayed sought help in battle against Lonrho. Status: Hamilton was paid cash in envelopes plus free Ritz stay in Paris. Greer was paid £25,000 fees p.a. plus cash.

TIM SMITH

Hard-earned front bench career ended with admission in resignation letter to Major: 'Mr Al Fayed paid me fees'



accountant had a reputation for assiduously placing questions for his declared consultancies. In four years from 1987 he tabled more than 100, at a cost of about £10,000, to glean information for his client Price Waterhouse. In two days in March 1988 he put down 38 questions alone.

the expert accountant he is, he said he declared them on his tax returns. Mr Smith's resignation as the junior Northern Ireland minister at 47, ended a brief front bench career that took an age to acquire.

specialist, led him naturally to acquire a batch of consultancies in the financial field: the British Insurance and Investment Brokers' Association, the Commodity Traders' Group, Lloyds Group Union and the British Venture Capital Association.

During the late eighties he was twice on the Conservative MPs' trade and industry committee, the interface between business and ministers that Ian Greer so carefully cultivated.

Parliamentary activity: Hamilton made three speeches in 1987 urging Sizewell nuclear power station go-ahead and praising the NNC.

Parliamentary activity: Hamilton wrote to health minister Ray Whitney on behalf of Skoal Bandits in May 1986. He proposed an amendment to the Finance Bill on June 13 1988 concerning oral snuff. On December 30 1989 he put down an early day motion, calling for the ban, which had finally been imposed, to be annulled.

Political lobbyist who controlled system that reached de... to corridors of power and influence... He was p... THE WITNESSES... THE NOLAN INQUIRY... case includ... the steps... the issues... the bill... and cash for... questions... and rowing... and claims... and favouritism

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### CORRUPTION IN THE COMMONS

Five MPs paid by £3.5m firm besieged Parliament on client's behalf

Political lobbyist who controlled system that reached deep into corridors of power and influence



Ian Greer, who assembled a group of MPs to lobby for Mohamed Al Fayed, including (centre) Sir Michael Grylls and (right) Sir Peter Hordern



PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

# act caught in web of greed

**David Leigh**  
IAN GREER, the widely acknowledged doyen of the political lobbying business, has worked for some of Britain's best-known names, among them British Airways, Coca-Cola and the Philip Morris cigarette firm.

is the way that a group of up to five MPs, including the chairman, the vice-chairman and the secretary of the Conservative Trade and Industry Committee, were assembled by Ian Greer to lobby on behalf of his client, the owner of Harrods, Mohamed Al Fayed.

Mohamed Al Fayed was signed up as a Greer client. Sir Michael did not declare his commission payments at the time on the Register of Members' Interests.

In 1994, Smith, who had by then become a Minister, admitted it to the Prime Minister and resigned.

and when he contacted ministers, he always told them he was in Al Fayed's pay.

was eventually completed, the Government blocked its publication, and when its contents were finally revealed, Ministers agreed to take no action against Al Fayed.

Hamilton wrote to the Stock Exchange chairman, Sir Nicholas Goodison, urging him to investigate Al Fayed's enemies, the Lorrho company. Hamilton described himself writing "as vice-chairman of the Conservative Trade and Industry Committee."

On his return, Hamilton wrote to the DTI on November 21 1987, pleading Fayed's case in the on-going DTI inquiry.

## 'He was persistent in asking for his envelope'

**THE WITNESSES**  
Thousands of pounds in cash handed over at Park Lane office

to the Ritz Hotel in Paris, Mr Hamilton had collected between £2,000 and £3,000 in cash from Mr Al Fayed's office, the former assistant claims in her statement.

then came by to pick it up. She had seen Mr Al Fayed fill the envelopes with money personally.

one time as frequent as several times a month, she claims, and the two men would converse frequently on the phone. They also met at Harrods.

'Mr Al Fayed phoned me from Harrods and told me to bring £5,000 in cash as he was expecting Mr Hamilton to meet him there'

lope containing cash at the reception at 60 Park Lane for collection by Mr Neil Hamilton.

On at least two occasions when I was sitting at the front desk, an envelope was brought down to me from Mr Al Fayed's office and I was informed that Mr Hamilton would be stopping by to collect the envelope, he says in his statement.

### Settlement represents second libel victory over a senior Conservative

**Owen Bowcott**  
YESTERDAY'S settlement of Neil Hamilton's case against the Guardian represents the newspaper's second libel victory against a senior member of the Conservative Party within the last 18 months.

**THE NOLAN INQUIRY**  
Sleaze inquiry side-stepped main issues of Ritz bill and cash for questions amid rowing and claims of favouritism



**David Hencke Westminster Correspondent**  
FIVE days after the Guardian revealed that Neil Hamilton and Tim Smith had been paid thousands of pounds by the Harrods owner, Mohamed Al Fayed, to ask parliamentary questions, John Major announced the setting up of the Nolan Committee to investigate sleaze.

scandal. Instead, the Members' Interests Committee was to examine a complaint against Mr Hamilton brought by Alex Carlile, Liberal Democrat MP for Montgomery.

of the MPs who received money from Mr Greer was Neil Hamilton.

mittee to protest about Mr Mitchell's role. He was reported to the Speaker and banned from the committee.

the first time detailed payments to Mr Hamilton. They were shocked to find that these had been sent to Sir Geoffrey Johnson-Smith a year previously and nothing had been done about it.

Mr Cooper agreed that, as stated in the newspaper article, he felt he had no further alternative but to commence legal proceedings.



Richard Norton-Taylor on a wartime embarrassment

Wodehouse 'an ass rather than a traitor'

**P**G WODEHOUSE, creator of Jeeves and Bertie Wooster, was a "silly ass" with no political sense, whose broadcasts to the US from Germany during the second world war were the actions of a vain and selfish man rather than a traitor, as his detractors claimed.

This judgment by a Home Office official was revealed yesterday when secret documents, including voluminous MIS files, were released at the Public Record Office. The records show how the most English of comic writers was a huge embarrassment to the government desperate to prevent him returning to his native land.

However, they also reveal that Wodehouse and his wife, Ethel, received substantial payments from the Germans during the war. One report refers to a description of him in a Gestapo file in Paris as "the English Goethe".

"Although I imagine his political intelligence and perhaps his knowledge of opinion in this country is very limited, I should think he must know enough to be aware that his position here will be to say the least unpleasant," an exasperated Home Office official told the home secretary, Herbert Morrison, in 1943.

"If the rat has enough intelligence to leave the sinking ship, I should suspect he must have enough intelligence not to put himself within the jaws of the British mastiff," he said, anticipating a public clamour for Wodehouse to be tried for treason. Such a trial, he said, would be "too big a hammer for the cracking of this nut".

"They should stay where they are," said Morrison in a handwritten note.

Berlin calling

**W**ODEHOUSE recorded five broadcasts in Berlin in 1941, which he described as "purely comic in tone". The following are extracts.

"They sent us off to the local lunatic asylum at Tost in Upper Silesia... There is a good deal to be said for internment... It keeps you out of the saloon... You also get a lot of sleep."

"There was a camp order that ran, 'When internees are standing in groups, the first to see an officer must shout, 'Achtung'... A man can have a lot of quiet fun by shouting 'Achtung' and watching his friends reach for the seams of their trousers and assume an erect bearing, when there is not an officer within miles."

"One lives on potatoes and rumours... a rumour a day kept depression away, so they served their purpose... Germany at that time was like the old woman who lived in a shoe. She had so many adopted children that she didn't know what to do with them."

A year later, another unidentified Home Office official noted that Wodehouse could excuse himself by saying he made the broadcasts not to help the enemy, but "for purely personal and egotistical reasons".

The official added: "I agree with the view that PGW is a person without political sense, who lives in a world of his own, and is only interested in creating humorous characters and incidents to please himself and his book-buying public. He was a 'silly ass' and a 'selfish ass' to broadcast, but there seems no



PG in Berlin... The creator of Jeeves with German official Hugo Speck on June 26, 1941, the day he agreed to broadcast to the US, and below, the Home Office's judgment on the prospects of Wodehouse returning to his native land

avoid coming to Great Britain. If the rat has enough intelligence to leave the sinking ship I should suspect he must have enough intelligence not to put himself within the jaws of the British mastiff.

Maze anger puts loyalist ceasefire in jeopardy

David Sharrock  
Ireland Correspondent

**T**HE LOYALIST ceasefire in Northern Ireland was in the balance last night after more than 100 Maze prisoners withdrew support for the peace process.

The Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Freedom Fighters inmates summoned representatives of the political wing, the Ulster Democratic Party, to the prison yesterday afternoon.

The UDA prisons spokesman John White said the decision left the ceasefire, which will be two years old in a fortnight's time, in "dire crisis". Inmates believed that the Stormont all-party talks were going nowhere and that the IRA was using paramilitary action as a tactic alongside the peace process.

The inmates were quite clear that they were going to withdraw their support from the ceasefire. "This is causing us great concern because of the very important role they played in brokering the loyalist ceasefire. This is the most critical point we have come to," Mr White said.

The party chairman, Joe English, said he was saddened but not surprised by the news. "It's mainly due to the manipulation of the peace process by Sinn Féin/IRA who, putting all the theory aside, have in practice been continuing the war."

It is not known how Ulster Volunteer Force prisoners will respond, but one insider said that it was far from certain that they would follow suit immediately.

However, the consequences could be catastrophic with loyalists and republicans restarting the cycle of violence from which the province has been largely free since September 1994.

The support of loyalist prisoners just 72 hours before their ceasefire was called in October 1994 was critical. "There wouldn't have been a ceasefire without them," said a senior loyalist last night.

Enthusiasm for the ceasefire has ebbed as promises of early releases faded and the political direction taken by the British government was perceived as moving towards

Survivor Harman still on executive

Duchess of York turns to lawyers as tapes lay bare her varied sex life and hatred of royals

**Vivek Chaudhary**

**L**AWYERS representing the Duchess of York are considering legal action to halt further publication of conversations in which she reveals details about her sex life, financial problems and her views on the royal family.

Extracts from the tapes, which contain personal conversations between the duchess and psychic healer Vasso

Kortsis, have been carried in tabloid newspapers over the past few days. The tapes are also being played on premium 0891 phone line numbers.

Lawyers from Schilling and Lom, which represents the duchess, spent most of yesterday formulating their response.

They are also believed to be planning legal action against the book The Duchess of York, Uncensored, which is written by Ms Kortsis and

reveals further details of their private conversations.

The book contains allegations that the duchess had sex with former lover Steve Wyatt while she was five months pregnant and that she first wondered if her marriage to Prince Andrew had been a mistake 24 hours after the wedding.

The tapes also feature conversations between Ms Kortsis and Prince Andrew. In one extract he is recorded as say-

ing that he hopes his marriage can be saved. Ms Kortsis tells him that the duchess has "never been with anybody else apart from you".

In one of the tapes, the duchess reveals her desperate financial situation and that she wishes to see the whole royal family die.

The duchess also accuses former lover John Bryan of "ruining" her life and Mr Wyatt of being a "creep" and a "bastard". She also tells Ms

Kortsis that her father, Major Ronald Ferguson, is "a madman".

The tapes show that the duchess classified the men in her life according to numbers. Mr Wyatt is number one, Andrew two, Mr Bryan three and John Kennedy junior nine.

The controversy surrounding the tapes comes at a time when the duchess is facing crippling financial problems and a legal battle over an-

other book which threatens to further publicise her private life. The duchess has already spent £150,000 fighting publication of a book by former friend Alan Starks and could face a legal bill of more than £1 million if she loses.

The duchess is reportedly on the verge of bankruptcy and is paying around £30,000 on bank interest charges on a £4 million overdraft.

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	£10,000	116.03	138.89	218.30	129.67
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	£5,000	63.90	75.14	114.18	71.46

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Uncertainty dogs president's ability to pull rabbit out of the hat at unscripted summit

# Mideast leaders head for US

Jonathan Freedland in Washington, Derek Brown in Jerusalem and John Palmer in Luxembourg

MIDDLE Eastern leaders converged on Washington last night for a hastily-arranged White House summit designed to revive the teetering peace process — amid signs of Arab disunity and European fears of an American cave-in to Israel.

In an apparent rift with Mr Arafat, who spent the day in talks in Egypt, the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, declined to attend the summit.

The pullout, originally promised for March, has been repeatedly put off. The Israeli government says it wants significant changes in the redeployment plan, with greater security for Jewish settlers.

These lines are unlikely to satisfy the Palestinians and their Arab allies. After yesterday's Arafat-Mubarak meeting, officials said they wanted assurances that the summit would produce a firm Israeli commitment to carry out existing obligations, including a return to the land-for-peace principle rejected by Mr Netanyahu.

land's Dick Spring, there was pressure on the US to delay the meeting and extend an invitation to the EU — the largest source of economic aid to the Palestinians.

## Washington snub reopens rift across Atlantic

Europe is concerned that Washington is bowing to Israel's hard line, writes John Palmer in Brussels

EUROPEAN Union governments are increasingly nervous that the Clinton administration's subservience to hardline Israeli government policies is putting the entire Middle East peace process at risk.

Most EU leaders are also angered at what they see as attempts by Washington to elbow Europe out of participation in the Middle East summit, scheduled for Washington today to try to defuse a crisis that has seen 55 Palestinians and 14 Israelis die in the worst violence since the peace framework was agreed in 1993.

Last night, frantic diplomatic efforts were under way to ensure the EU — as the principal source of aid for the West Bank and Gaza Strip and adjacent countries — is included in a summit.

Both the Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt are known to want EU involvement.

They believe Europe's presence will make it more difficult for the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, to avoid a public commitment on key issues such as the promised withdrawal of his army from the West Bank city of Hebron, and the closure of the Jerusalem tunnel whose opening near one of Islam's holiest sites caused the explosion of Palestinian anger.

The barely disguised differences between the United States and the EU over strategy on the Middle East peace process are only the latest in a series of policy divisions.

Legislation introduced by the US earlier this summer to deter international trade with Cuba and investment in Iran and Libya already threatens a full-scale diplomatic and commercial confrontation.

In the past two years the US and its European partners have also had to work hard to prevent policy divisions on Bosnia turning into a crisis for the Atlantic pact.

On the Israeli-Palestinian issue, the two sides of the Atlantic were trying last night to limit their differences. But the EU will now insist that greater international pressure is put on the Netanyahu government to fulfil the side of the 1993 Oslo peace agreement.

A spokesman for the Irish EU presidency said in Brussels yesterday: "We have been kept very closely in touch

with developments by [the US secretary of state] Warren Christopher. But as the EU presidency, the Irish government thought it right to meet with Mr Arafat and discuss the crisis in the region.

"I do not know whether we have formally asked for an invitation to the Washington summit. But you can safely assume that we would gladly take up any such invitation."

The French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, said of the US refusal to include Europe in the Washington meeting: "This is certainly unfortunate. That is certainly not a positive step for things to go forward."

Senior German government sources made it clear that Bonn also believes that the EU, which played an important supporting role in helping to secure the Oslo agreement, should be present in Washington.

Although Britain has traditionally taken a stronger line in supporting Palestinian rights than has the US, the

"The US refusal to include Europe in the summit is unfortunate. It is certainly not a positive step"

Government initially seemed unconcerned by the EU's exclusion from the Washington summit.

But last night the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, flew from Edinburgh to Luxembourg to be available, if needed, for the meeting between Mr Arafat and an EU presidency "troika" consisting of the foreign ministers of Ireland (the EU presidency), Italy (the previous presidency) and the Netherlands (the next presidency).

For his part, Mr De Charette let it be known that he would make sure he met the Palestinian leader during his Luxembourg stop-over.

As he arrived in Luxembourg for the meeting with Mr Arafat last night, the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, said it was "essential" for the Israeli government to send a clear signal that they are committed to the peace process and to its implementation.

He described President Mubarak's decision not to attend the summit as "unfortunate to say the least".

Mr Spring said: "The Egyptians have played a very important part in the peace process but we must avoid developments about President Mubarak's plans."



Yasser Arafat arrives in Cairo from Alexandria after meeting President Hosni Mubarak PHOTOGRAPH BY MOHAMED EL-DARS/AGENCY

## Critical policy test for Clinton

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

TODAY'S hastily-arranged summit of Middle Eastern leaders at the White House will be less telegraphic than the last two, but it will represent a much sharper test for the host, President Clinton.

Unlike the September summits of 1993 and 1995 — where the Oslo I and II peace accords were signed — the outcome of today's meeting is utterly uncertain. Mr Clinton will not enjoy the luxury of presiding over a done deal; instead, it is largely up to him to make one happen.

The result will be an unusually clear window on the foreign policy methods of the Clinton White House. Critics predict the summit will

expose once again a persistent weakness in international affairs: an unwillingness to put pressure on countries which cause trouble.

The Arab states and several European allies fear Mr Clinton is unlikely to lean on Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, sufficiently heavily to put the peace process back on track. Few observers believe Washington will persuade him to close the tunnel in Jerusalem whose opening last week triggered the latest violence. Others have claimed the trouble is partly the result of America's failure to crack down earlier on Mr Netanyahu.

But a senior White House official insisted yesterday that Mr Clinton had "read the riot act" to foreign leaders in the past, though always in private. "Grandstanding

publicly usually doesn't get much done," he said.

The official offered the example of the public pressure by the former president George Bush on Israel's last Likud prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir. Mr Bush withheld \$10 billion (about \$5.6 billion) in loan guarantees to persuade Mr Shamir to freeze Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. "I would question whether that was effective," the official said.

Instead, the Clinton administration's stated approach — in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East — has been to act as a facilitator. "The public strategy is to walk softly but always to carry a big stick and a big carrot."

With just five weeks to go before the November election, White House officials concede a diplomatic failure would

not be helpful for Mr Clinton, least of all in a region where he has invested so much time and political capital. Campaign planners had hoped to showcase the Middle East as one of his few foreign policy achievements.

Cynics argued that Mr Clinton has seized on the summit initiative as a chance to appear presidential. But Democratic aides explained that he had taken a big risk by hosting an unpredictable meeting, and the event will cut into his planned preparations for Sunday's first televised debate with the Republican challenger, Bob Dole.

Officials also dismissed suggestions that Mr Clinton is constrained by his desire not to alienate the large Jewish vote in the United States. Polls show his popularity among Jews is not at risk.

### News in brief

#### UN to approve Iraq oil sales 'in weeks'

THE United Nations hopes to approve Iraqi oil-for-food sales "in a matter of weeks" after the setback caused by Iraq's military deployment, a senior official said yesterday.

Yasushi Akashi, the undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs, said the secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was "almost ready" to approve the \$1.3 billion sale when the Iraqi military intervened in Kurdish fighting in northern Iraq a month ago.

The military action only made matters worse for people already suffering from shortages that have worsened under UN sanctions imposed because of the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait at the start of the Gulf war, Mr Akashi said.

When pressed, he said: "The secretary-general is anxious to start this programme. The people in Iraq and in many countries have been waiting for a long time. We are most anxious to commence it. I cannot speculate, but I think it would be a matter of weeks." — AP, Geneva.

#### Gulf logs 'reveal toxic cloud'

UNITED STATES Gulf war commanders took shelter from anticipated chemical warfare in 1991 while telling troops to disregard reports of a toxic cloud, according to newly declassified military documents given to the Birmingham News in Alabama.

The advocacy group Gulfwatch, which acquired the logs under the Freedom of Information Act, said they bolster their claim of a military cover-up of so-called Gulf war syndrome, an unexplained ailment many veterans claim they contracted.

Several gaps exist in the logs but an entry following the bombing of Iraqi ammunition dumps on January 19, 1991, reportedly says Czechoslovakian chemical warfare specialists had detected non-lethal levels of mustard gas. The next day, the log officer noted that Czech and French troops detected two types of nerve gas.

The following day, after an Iraqi Scud missile attack, central command switched on chemical warfare filters and sealed its facilities with airdocks, the logs state. That afternoon, French troops reported again detecting chemical agents. After a further Czech detection, central command told US troops to ignore the reports. — AP, Birmingham, Alabama.

#### N Korea 'to pay' for incursion

SOUTH Korean troops killed a North Korean yesterday in a gun battle three miles from where a North Korean submarine was found grounded off the east coast almost two weeks ago. It brought to 22 the number of North Koreans killed or found dead since members of the crew came ashore. One was captured, three were believed to remain at large.

The deputy prime minister, Kwon Ok-chie, yesterday told parliament: "The armed North Korean intrusion was a shocking incident... They will have to pay the price for it." The government would adopt punitive measures under its new policy of trying to change the North's "habit" of military provocation, he said. The national security adviser, Yoo Chong-ha, said earlier that Seoul would take "all but military means" to retaliate.

Local media, quoting unidentified government officials, reported over the weekend that the South may delay approval of a deal to build two modern nuclear reactors in the North under a US-brokered 1994 accord.

Meanwhile, Pyongyang yesterday lambasted its wartime ally Russia for providing sophisticated military hardware to the South under a loan repayment scheme. — AP, Seoul.

#### Swiss vote for Nazi study

SWITZERLAND'S lower house of parliament yesterday voted for a sweeping study of financial dealings with Nazi Germany and the fate of Jewish wealth deposited before, during and after the second world war.

The national council endorsed a decree put forward by the cabinet in 1990 and sent the measure for final approval by the upper chamber.

The decree creates a commission of experts empowered to lift tight bank secrecy rules for the accounting of Swiss commerce with Nazi Germany. It will also review how much wealth was deposited with Swiss banks and other financial companies by Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution, and whether the Swiss have done enough to identify the lost assets of those killed in the Holocaust.

The move follows recent speculation, fuelled by newly declassified US archives, that Switzerland could still be hoarding Nazi gold. — Reuters, Bern.

#### Find suggests white natives

A SKELETON discovered recently on a bank of the Columbia River near the town of Richland, Washington, suggests white men lived in America thousands of years before Christopher Columbus set sail.

Carbon dating put the skeleton's age at around 9,900 years old, making it one of around 12 from that period which have been discovered in the United States. But several forensic anthropologists who examined the skeleton came to the remarkable conclusion that Richland Man appeared to be Caucasian.

If verified, the discovery would radically undercut the orthodoxy on early American history which holds that the earliest Americans were Mongoloids who crossed a land bridge over the Bering Sea from Asia. It would lend credence to theories that native Americans may have been the descendants of both Mongoloid and Caucasian migrants, or that Mongoloid settlers beat out Caucasian ones. — Ian Katz, New York.

#### EU births hit post-war low

WOMEN in European Union states had fewer babies last year than in any year since 1948, leaving immigrants to account for most of the population growth, an EU study showed yesterday.

With fewer than 4 million babies born in 1995, the fertility rate hit a post-war low of 1.43 children per woman. That means that if present patterns continue, each woman living in the EU will produce an average of 1.43 children during her lifetime. That compares with an average of 1.6 during the period 1990-94.

The project leader, Harri Cruysen, said women were having fewer children and spending more time in education or work. — Reuters, Brussels.

#### Colombian food prices rocket

FOOD prices have rocketed in Bogotá since leftist guerrillas unleashed a massive offensive at the end of last month, according to a survey by Colombian daily El Tiempo, published yesterday.

Since the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the National Liberation Army attempted to place a stranglehold on cities by blocking roads and burning trucks, the cost of a basic food basket has risen by more than 10 per cent, the newspaper calculated. Prices on the Caribbean coast and northeastern provinces had also been hit. The military and police have begun to escort some trucks. — Reuters, Bogotá.

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**ladrid pulls budget punch**

**Spain's leader to first meet**

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A civil servant wearing a mask in imitation of the prime minister holds a piece of bread at a protest in Bilbao yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: THOMA FERNANDEZ

# Chirac puts onus on local councils to help poor

## Strikes spur Paris into action on jobs

Paul Webster in Paris

THE French government tried to stem a growing tide of social unrest by declaring yesterday that it would instruct local councils and voluntary associations to create 300,000 jobs for those receiving income support and other benefits.

The announcement — intended to fulfil President Jacques Chirac's election promise to heal France's "social fracture" — coincided with a strike by teachers over redundancies and sporadic protests before a public sector strike later this month.

During a visit to northern France, Mr Chirac has been trying to restore confidence by praising initiatives to increase local responsibility for job creation for the worst-off by transforming some income support into salaries.

In May last year, Mr Chirac said it was no longer acceptable that a "wounded and vulnerable France" was paying for a previous reluctance

to solve the problems of social exclusion. But despite his renewed call for national solidarity, no new contributions will be demanded of the rich to help create jobs.

Le Monde dismissed the measures, which will provide funds for wages by ending some types of benefit, as "taking from the poor to give to the poorest."

The plan acknowledges that it will be five years before local initiatives create work for the 300,000 poorest citizens. The 27,000 new jobs available next year are unlikely to have much impact on the March 1998 general elections, which opinion polls say will be won by the left.

According to state figures, 15 million French people live precariously, with the young worse off than 10 years ago.

However, the minister for urgent humanitarian action, Xavier Emmanuelli, said the plan's wider aim was to end inequality in healthcare, housing and literacy. A new watchdog organisation would monitor and analyse levels of poverty.

As it has become clear that the government has no miracle solution to fend off the threat of another autumn of paralysing strikes, Mr Chirac has been trying to silence critics among his own right-wing supporters. They feel that the Gaullist prime minister, Alain Juppé, has botched the economic recovery and should go.

The president, who has dismissed the early replacement of Mr Juppé, planned yesterday to appeal for an end to internal party strife before Gaullist and allied movements debate the prime minister's demand for a parliamentary vote of confidence tomorrow.

Another rise in the jobless total announced at the weekend has increased Mr Juppé's difficulty in defending an austerity budget intended to meet European Union single-currency conditions.

With 3.2 million already out of work, the national protests have centred on fears about unemployment. Among teachers, for example, 5,000 posts are to go.

## Madrid pulls budget punches

Adela Gooch in Madrid

CIVIL servants throughout Spain demonstrated yesterday against government plans to freeze their salaries — a key measure in this year's budget designed to prepare for the first phase of European monetary union (EMU).

But the unions' threat of a general strike as the budget was presented to parliament was largely a gesture: last week, the government signed an agreement with them to reform state pensions and guarantee their spending power.

Although the finance minister, Rodrigo Rato, proudly described the budget as the "toughest in 20 years" it leaves welfare spending virtually untouched. The government is relying on infrastructure cuts and privatisation to reduce the deficit which, at 6.4 per cent of GDP, is the main stumbling block towards meeting the Maastricht criteria for monetary union.

Unemployment, officially the highest in Europe, has been creeping down, as has inflation. The prime minister, José María Aznar, stressed that Spain was determined to qualify for the first phase of EMU, but most economists

rule that out unless the criteria are softened. They argue that Spain needs a further two years.

The government hopes to reduce earlier spending plans by 800 billion pesetas (£4 billion) and lower the deficit to 3 per cent next year.

But economists accused it of putting off tough decisions until next year. Plans to introduce a 100 peseta (50p) charge on prescriptions had to be dropped because of objections from Catalan nationalists, on whose support Mr Aznar's minority Popular Party relies. In fact, health spending is to rise by 6 per cent.

The budget, carefully negotiated with the Catalans, is bound to be passed. Last year's rejection by MPs of spending proposals put forward by the Socialist government signalled its imminent demise.

The budget includes new levies on insurance policies but does not increase taxes substantially.

The Socialists accused the government of "creative accounting" and said an agreement whereby each region will be directly responsible for collecting and spending 30 per cent of income tax could prove expensive. The measure was demanded by the Catalans in return for their support of the PP.

## Bosnia's leaders hold first meeting

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

BOSNIA began to take on its post-war shape yesterday, as a triumvirate of freshly-elected nationalist leaders met in a motel on the outskirts of Sarajevo for the first session of the collective presidency.

It was a low-key and awkward affair. The three participants arrived under heavy security from different directions and at different times, after Alija Izetbegovic — the Muslim leader and chairman of the presidency — raised last-minute objections about the venue.

The other members of the presidency — the Bosnian Serb leader, Momcilo Krajisnik, and the prominent Croat nationalist, Kresimir Zubak — were kept waiting nearly an hour while foreign diplomats persuaded Mr Izetbegovic to drive half a mile from the centre of town to the motel above the River Miljacka.

The meeting was intended to be the first step towards creating power-sharing institutions to hold Bosnia together, after three and a half years of murderous conflict.

Significant differences remain between the three leaders' visions of Bosnia's future. There is not even agreement on the oath of

office to be used when the presidency is formally inaugurated, an event tentatively scheduled for the weekend.

The session was held behind closed doors. International observers described the atmosphere as workmanlike as the adversaries finally came together for a first informal encounter hosted by the international community's representative, Carl Bildt.

Mr Bildt said later that the leaders had shaken hands. The three leaders will have to map out Bosnia's future after elections two weeks ago which gave huge majorities to nationalist wartime leaders from the three communities.

In the next few weeks, they are supposed to appoint a council of ministers and implement a "quick-start" package of measures designed to embody the highly decentralised state which has emerged from 43 months of war. The measures have to be approved by a multi-ethnic, 42-seat house of representatives which is expected to convene in central Sarajevo within 10 days.

Authority was formally transferred to the tripartite presidency on Sunday when the election results were formally approved by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) — despite allegations by independent observers of fraud and ballot-stuffing.

The timing of this first encounter had been in doubt because of differences over the venue. Mr Krajisnik had refused to come to a meeting in central Sarajevo, within the Muslim-Croat federation, because of fears for his safety. Mr Izetbegovic would not meet on the former front line as the Serbs suggested.

The Sara) motel represented a compromise. It is a mile inside federation territory on the road which runs along the side of a gorge from Sarajevo to the Serb headquarters in Pale.

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The limits of social justice

Without growth fairness will not be on the agenda

BY THIS time next year, if Labour wins the election, Gordon Brown could be preparing his first budget having already made — for such is the tightness of the timetable — the most important economic decision of recent times: whether Britain will join the chain of events leading to a common European currency. Yesterday's speech to Labour's annual conference at Blackpool was designed to prove that Labour was sufficiently reconstructed to be fit to govern in a globalised economy without sacrificing its core principles. The chancellor presumptively managed to soothe the party faithful — even mentioning the word "socialism" in a constructive way — without upsetting the FTSE share index. He was rewarded with a dignified ovation, albeit a standing orders one, which was about the best a would-be iron chancellor could expect to get when so many Labour icons have been jettisoned.

History may judge the Conservatives to have been much better in their own terms at micro-economic policy (like reforms to the labour market) than macro-economic policy. Even their staunchest supporters find it difficult to defend two unnecessarily severe recessions in one decade. Goodness knows how much economic wealth, which could have rebuilt Britain's social infrastructure, was lost by those disastrous policies. Mr Brown intends to do well at both macro and micro policy. He plans to pursue fiscal and monetary restraint (however unpopular) in order to generate sustainable growth to pay for social reforms that his inherited fiscal deficit precludes him from doing at present.

At the same time he hopes that his micro-economic reforms (improving education, training and offering incentives for the poor and long-term unemployed to get back to work) will pave the way for stronger expansion in

future and a long-overdue reduction in unemployment to the low levels of a couple of decades ago. This means, sadly, that since Labour is not prepared to undo the maldistribution of income of the past 17 years in a significant way, priority groups so badly treated under the Conservatives — including pensioners and the poor — will have to wait. The only exceptions on offer are the introduction of a minimum wage (at an affordable rate) and a pledge to reduce the starting band of income tax to 15p in the pound or even 10p if the means can be found (like restoring capital gains and inheritance taxes if they are abolished in the November budget).

What pensioners feel about all that can only be guessed at. Mr Brown was adroit yesterday in — quite rightly — castigating the Government for its "betrayal of the pensioners of Britain", while eschewing any hint that could even indirectly be construed as a commitment to restore the practice of increasing pensions in line with average earnings rather than prices. He merely pledged "fairness".

He was at his best in invoking the language of Old Labour to justify his new orthodoxy. Thus it was Aneurin Bevan's language of priorities that made choices tough: tight fiscal discipline was necessary because "every pound that is inefficiently spent is a pound denied to our frontline services"; inflation was bad because it affected pensioners and the poor who suffered most. In this way "prudence and responsibility is not therefore an abandonment of socialism; it is the very essence of it". Heady stuff; but it falls well short of being a socialist's defence of monetarism by Mr Brown's evident passion, and by the detailed reforms he has worked out to open up the growth potential of the economy in a fairer way. If the growth doesn't happen then all bets are off.

An exception to prove the rule

Mrs B is right to fight to use her dead husband's sperm

SHOULD a dead man father a child? Technologically, this has been possible since scientists developed procedures to freeze sperm. Legally, this can happen when an anonymous donor to an artificial insemination clinic dies. If the principle has been established, why is the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority (HFEA) blocking the attempts of a wife to conceive a baby by her dead husband? Prior to the Act that set up the Authority, the woman would have faced far less trouble. The facts are set out by our legal correspondent on the women's page today. The woman involved, who will take her case to the High Court tomorrow, is 30 years old. She is known as Mrs B. Her husband became her steady boyfriend at 16 and her husband when she was 25. In January, 1995, they decided to try to have a baby — and at one point, falsely, she thought she was pregnant — but two months later her husband developed meningitis and went into a coma. At the request of the wife, doctors removed samples of the husband's sperm before switching off the life support machine. Now she wants his baby but is being blocked by the HFEA.

no written consent from Mr B about the use of his sperm. HFEA rules also require all males who provide sperm samples to have counselling before they give their written consent. The rules were written to reassure the public and ensure medical people involved in fertility treatment subscribe to ethical guidelines. These were drawn up after the Warnock Committee, which preceded the Act, suggested that the use of a dead husband's sperm should be "actively discouraged" because it might give rise to "profound psychological problems for child and mother".

Warnock should not be dismissed out of hand but Mrs B's arguments to our legal correspondent have even more force: "What is totally bizarre is that I can have treatment with the sperm of a totally anonymous donor, but surely it would be better for a child to know its father loved its mother, it was wanted, it was planned." She adds: "The only person they can be said to be protecting is my husband, yet it was me who knew him for 13 years, and me who had discussions with him." The arguments she raises are important. Laws should rarely be immutable. They are there to be challenged and developed by the courts, particularly in cases like Mrs B's where technology changes so quickly. Mrs B should not have been required to remortgage her home to have financed her action. She is raising important principles of public policy: not the rescinding of the Act, but a refinement to provide more flexibility.

The billionaires' banquet

But do not forget: 12 million children are starving

GLOBALISATION was supposed to spread the benefits of late 20th century capitalism widely around the world, and to bring down national barriers as international finance swished and swirled into every productive corner of the globe. We would not have guessed it from the latest annual rating of wealthy Americans by Forbes magazine published yesterday. The number one superpower is still the number one super-rich power, and the 400 wealthiest Americans include 121 dollar billionaires — 27 more than last year.

fattest cat in the alley. Only market investor Warren Buffett comes anywhere near to Mr Gates's \$18.5 billion, and both are up by 25 per cent from last year. The other notable statistic is that for the first time the average net worth of the Forbes 400 exceeds one billion dollars. The list also reflects the main growth industries today: communications and the financial market.

The cliché that the rich are getting richer is unavoidable. So is the contrast to be drawn, in yesterday's news, between the exuberant figures from Forbes, and a rather different set of statistics from the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF). These show that the food situation in developing countries has barely improved in the last six years and most child deaths are due to under-nourishment. Around 12 million children die each year, and more than half a million women die in childbirth. These figures too speak for themselves.



Letters to the Editor

Humanity screened out

AS the mother of a lovely nine-year-old daughter who has Down's syndrome, I read Annsabel Ferriman's article on pre-natal testing (Truth and trouble with scans, September 24) and Lucy Johnstone's ordeal with great sadness.

How can Professor Nicholas Wald possibly compare stroke prevention with pre-natal screening? Firstly these tests cause a great deal of often unwarranted distress to the expectant mum who begins to see her child as a potential burden rather than the gift that he or she is.

Secondly, the stroke patient is not "terminated" when his condition is discovered, whereas 9 out of 10 unborn babies with Down's syndrome whose disability has been detected are aborted. Here the "prevention" of handicap in the unborn means the killing of the disabled patient — incredibly, with the compliance and encouragement of the medical profession.

Every morning our daughter greets me with a kiss, a hug and the statement: "I love you, Mummy!" What more could any mother wish for? Mary Brennan, Durlock Avenue, Ramsgate, Kent CT11.

As Lucy Johnstone's experience clearly demonstrates, termination kills a child. Women suffer tremendous guilt and remorse as a result of the pressure they are under when the tests appear to show an abnormality. Discrimination against the disabled is a slippery slope. Who will be next? Diana Sanderson, Newton Hall, Durham DH1.

PROFESSOR Wald compares screening with the work done in trying to prevent strokes. But doctors do not kill those who may be in danger of strokes. A better comparison would be the screening and abortion of girl foetuses, as is not uncommon in India (and in Brazil, if the case of one doctor, reported in a Sunday tabloid, is proved true: she will arrange an abortion if the child is a girl). Apparently this type of screening is illegal even though there seems to be a genuine demand from the women themselves.

As I have a very full and enjoyable life despite spina bifida (and breast cancer), of course I would welcome a cure for either — but not at the price of the elimination of people, even if we could be certain of identifying unborn babies with those disabilities.

Professor Wald's comparison is particularly poignant and unfortunate in our case. For 18 years, our son Peter who had Down's syndrome was at the centre of our family, enriching our lives. Then he died last year — as a consequence of severe strokes. How we would have welcomed screening to prevent these.

That would have been a totally different issue. Hazel Morgan, Cullford School, Bury St Edmunds.

PROFESSOR Wald compares screening with the work done in trying to prevent strokes. But doctors do not kill those who may be in danger of strokes. A better comparison would be the screening and abortion of girl foetuses, as is not uncommon in India (and in Brazil, if the case of one doctor, reported in a Sunday tabloid, is proved true: she will arrange an abortion if the child is a girl). Apparently this type of screening is illegal even though there seems to be a genuine demand from the women themselves.

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Frankly speaking, it's a Field day for pension reform

IF Aneurin Bevan were alive today I doubt whether he would agree that Frank Field (Letters, September 27) is speaking the language of democratic-socialist priorities.

Frank Field repeats the accusations that the poorest pensioners will not benefit from Barbara Castle's proposals and that occupational-pension contributors stand to lose up to £550 a year.

Both statements are untrue. Basic state pensioners, especially the 700,000 or more not currently receiving the income support to which they are entitled, will gain. Additional second-tier pensions will also be strengthened. Occupational-pension rebates are not affected.

And Frank's suggestion that Serps can be replaced by a compulsorily funded private scheme defies logic as well as international evidence. Interestingly he does not say much about the so-called Pension Entitlement put forward by Harold Wilson to help the poorest pensioners.

Like the earlier Labour proposals for a "Minimum Pension Guarantee" and an "Assured Pension", a "Pension Entitlement" is a proposal for a means test. We do not understand how the basic problem of pensioner poverty is likely to be solved by substituting one form of failed means test by another.

What is wrong with steadily raising the basic pension by (i) using existing contributions much more effectively; (ii) adding a small increase to the rates of contribution payable by prosperous people who have benefited hugely from the so-called Tory "reforms"; and (iii) clawing back some of the "cost" of larger basic pensions from the rich via increased taxes — which many seem willing to pay? Peter Townsend, Vice President of the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1Z 9BN.

IMPROVEMENTS to state pensions should be funded by the restoration of the Exchequer contribution to the National Insurance fund which the Tories terminated in 1989. The cost of this could be met by phasing out the tax rebates and exemptions that the private pension funds get on their investment income and capital gains. They have done very nicely out of these over the past 17 years, as dividends have quadrupled and share values risen roughly sevenfold.

Further untaxed benefits have come from the purchase of under-priced shares in privatisations, and the recent spate of share buy-backs and special dividends. R J Westmarland, 109 Drayton Bridge Road, London W7 1ER.

Seeds of hope

A WOMAN fights for the right to have a child by her dead husband. (Front page, September 30). Hold on, wasn't this story on Chicago Hope? That woman was persuaded against proceeding on the grounds that it was selfish and took no account of the child's needs. The whole matter was resolved neatly within 45 minutes (as indeed were half-a-dozen other items). It is a shame that life always takes so much longer than art (I except Wagner, Warhol, and De Mille). Nicholas Hayson, 46 Springvale Road, Kings Worthy, Winchester, Hants SO23 7ND.

THE Commission for Racial Equality's decision to record all complaints of religious discrimination (Religion, September 27) will be welcomed not only by the Muslim community. It has long been the view of many in the Christian community that there should be legislation to make religious discrimination an offence. The Bishop of Oxford has himself pressed for this, and, given the degree of religious discrimination in British society, it is highly likely that Christians will be among those recording complaints. (Rev) Richard Thomas, Communications Officer, Diocese of Oxford, Diocesan Church House, North Hinksey, Oxford OX2 0NB.

ANOTHER example of modernist management bollocks-speak (Letters, September 27): I work for an inner-city local authority, and a while ago a consultant was appointed to undertake a review of my department. He popped his head around my door and introduced himself. I asked him what actually he was going to do, and he replied that he was "an experienced change agent". 18 Windermere Avenue, London NW6 6LN.

America is in a class of its own

AMERICAN university education can be expensive, but it need not be (The added pain of pay as you learn the American way, September 21). Private universities, which receive very limited taxpayer subsidies, are sometimes very expensive and their students can graduate with considerable debt — and well-founded expectations of good salaries.

However, the state university system in Georgia, for instance, charges \$100 per quarter for books to in-state students who maintain a B-or-better-grade average, with absolutely no charge for tuition. Other states differ in how much in-state residents, out-of-state or foreign students may pay.

Your reporter slurs state universities when he claims that they provide "second-rate" education. A degree from University of California campuses at, say, Berkeley or Los Angeles, or any of the SUNY (State University of New York) campuses, can

A Country Diary

CHEESHIRE: As the season changes slowly but surely into autumn so too do the moths that are attracted to the garden light trap. The Common Sallow with its orange-yellow wings dotted with reddish-grey markings bears a remarkable resemblance to an autumn leaf. Very few of our resident moths are green in colour and one of the most attractive members of this restricted group is a noctuid with the splendid title, Mercurialis du Jour, which flies at night in September and October. One or two are usually drawn to the mercury vapour lamp but seldom do they enter the collecting box, preferring to settle close by on the garden fence or garage wall. Whilst the dominant ground colour of this beautiful insect is a rich bright green, its wings are patterned with cryptic white-edged black markings and thus another example of nature's camouflage in the moth world. The "merveille" is to be lucky enough to find

it at rest during the day on the lichen-covered bark of an oak tree. Another attractive and not uncommon moth now appearing in the trap is the Green-brindled Crescens. Despite its name it can't really be included amongst the "green" moths as that colour is very variable on this species and quite often does not appear at all. However it does share a characteristic with about another 100 of our moths in producing a melanic form which is the variety that has turned up in the trap more often this autumn than the true type. The white fleck near the hinge edge of the upper wing — the crescent — is always clearly visible in both forms. These melanic examples have been given a Latin name — capucina, and just like the coffee this describes perfectly the rich, brown overall colouring of their wings. Not welcome in the trap, at present, are the wasps that burst out when the lid is lifted. J M THOMPSON

only be considered among the most prestigious in the world. Catherine White, Acting Director, Educational Advisory Service, Fulbright Commission, 62 Doughty Street, London WC1N 2LS.

As a student who has experienced both the English and American university systems I can attest to the superiority of the American degree. For starters, the Americans do not expect their 18-year-olds to commit to a specific subject on leaving school. As a result, Americans gain a much broader view of the world while their English counterparts are stuck in a dead-end of a system that forces them to be so focused that other possibilities are lost. The US also sends almost half of its population on to further education because it believes everyone should have the opportunity. Andrea Li, 21 St Ann's Terrace, London NW8 9PH.

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We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear.

09/10/96



Diary

Matthew Norman

THE TV journalist Maryn Gregory has been writing with infectious fury about how John Birt splunked two reports on British Airways: one was a follow-up to an earlier Newsnight piece on John Gorman, an ex-policeman allegedly terrorised after complaining about finding glass in a BA meal; and the other concerned Virgin's court case against BA. The compilation of these films is very curious. Meanwhile, I would like to make a correction. In the Observer, Mr Gregory mentioned that Mr Birt and BA chief executive Robert Ayling both own houses in Hay-on-Wye. This is not strictly true. Both own houses in Crickdam, a tiny village some seven miles from Hay. Mr Birt's very smart place stands opposite the church, while Mr Ayling has a small, isolated cottage just outside the village. Mr Ayling's place, however, is dilapidated and uninhabitable. Where Mr Ayling stays on weekends when renovating the derelict property is uncertain. Let us hope he can find a way to avoid spending a fortune on hotels.

I AM enchanted by the regal portrait of Mr Tony Blair and family. Alastair Campbell, the Blair press man, rang on Friday to say that the new photo was his way of saying thanks for respecting the little ones' privacy the past year. Isn't that sweet? The invoice (for £250) arrived in yesterday's post. Ahhhh.

IN the new edition of Radio Times, out today, Norma Major talks to the excellent Andrew Duncan. Mrs Major, now deceased, is sioned after a brief spell as a secret weapon, continues her run of outspoken form. Lady Thatcher gets a minor kicking — "she didn't like superfluous women, or any extraneous bods. We didn't really serve much purpose, wives" — but Mrs Major's real loathing is reserved for the Tory establishment. "I heard that someone said the only way we'd have got to Number Ten previously," she says, "was as butler and parlourmaid. Best to ignore that sort of thing." Second best, in fact. (Presumably the person and his teeth in with spiked boots.

MEANWHILE, good news for the family: the Terry Major-Ball column has arrived. The Daily Mail won a recent scrap for Terry's services (despite offering £150 a time less than the Express), and "the brother of all columns" duly made its debut on Friday. In three items, Terry covered the entire range from daughter Fiona's wedding, through a visit to Stringfellow's, all the way to his new microwave oven. (Presumably the problems with his ironing board will be held over until space permits.) It was a great triumph... and to Terry we remove our hats.

CONTENDER emerges in the quest for the country's drooliest public-relations exponent. It is Rentokil, which recently took over multinational BET (and, appetisingly enough, the firm's contracts to supply school dinners). Rentokil, which itself donated £21,000 to charity in 1995 (a handsome 0.02 per cent of UK pre-tax profits), has not only ordered BET to halve its annual charitable donations, but has instructed directors of all 73 BET companies around the world on no account to make personal gifts. Tempting as it is to assume that this is a joke, Rentokil's corporate affairs boss Charles Grimaldi insists he isn't clowning around.

MEANWHILE, from the world of PR journalism, we salute Rebecca Dowman. Preparing the ground for the Labour Conference, Rebecca, who writes the diary for PR Week, called a contact yesterday to ask which parties he and colleagues from his firm were going to at the Tory conference in Brighton. When it was pointed out that they were going to Bourne-mouth, a lengthy silence ensued. "Oh," said Rebecca, eventually, in a very small voice. "But I've booked a table in Brighton. I've booked restaurants in Brighton..."



# Labour uplifted by faith in the future

Commentary  
Hugo Young

THE Labour Party is the party of government. Not may be or will be. It is its state of mind. Merely the formalities remain to be accomplished. There's an election to be won, and the Tories to be sent to the knackers. But the party doesn't doubt this will happen. Its confidence has become seigneurial. In the Labour mind, the Tories are history. The duty if not the fact of government has already changed hands. That's the importunate language here in Blackpool.

bred of 16 years, casting Labour as the party that fate has destined to lose forever, easily got the better of empty boosterishness. Since then, however, the Tories have done their best for the Labour Party. Their tricks have been self-destructive. We're a year nearer the election, and Conservatism is no nearer winning it. Mr Blair has remained utterly ascendant. One of his favourite polling graphs continues to give satisfaction. The link between feel-good feelings and Conservative fortunes, which declined in parallel between 1993 and 1994, began to separate as the New Labour phenomenon took root. People started to feel better despite the collapse of confidence in the Government. This was proof that New Labour was working. It still is. The ingrained inferiority complex has been comprehensively supplanted by a rhetoric that lays exclusive claim to the millennium. This is not an unqualified blessing. It brings other developments in its train. The party, after all, doesn't yet actually have the power. It is getting ahead of itself. Responsibility without power is the curse that will kill the government, but the illusion of power without the fact of responsibility has its perils too. One result of the dispelling of anxiety about victory is the burgeoning of anxiety

about what victory will be for. More people, serious and committed Blair supporters, begin to feel released from the neurotic imperatives of silence. Moreover, in this half-world between impotence that is about to end and power that has not yet arrived, they sense their last opportunity to get the argument going before Mr Blair and his colleagues disappear into the Whitehall Valhalla. Blair, however, is the man who, of all his party, is least seized of the new certainty. All these around him talk like people who think the New Labour era is already in its pre-history, its pre-destined run-up. The leader is not prepared to think that. Of all the people here, he chooses to be the canniest. He regards this conference as the last best chance the Tories have to represent his party as divided/dangerously/destructive. Get past Blackpool safely, he thinks, and they'll have nothing left to say. The mood of confidence, however, doesn't entirely permit this. Blair is in this sense the victim of his own success. The party is easing back into a little bit of argument. People dare to inquire what great cause they are fighting for. Roy Hattersley and Peter Hain, at a lunchtime meeting of the new Labour Reform Group, made statements of impeccable socialist moderation, which

insisted that the S-word wasn't anathema. It had, as Hain defined it, a futuristic relevance. Both men surely spoke from the deep heart of the radical centre-left when they said that politics was about more than fiscal probity. This is actually Blair's own ground. Such was the decent sincerity of Hain and Hattersley that I heard nothing Mr Blair would disagree with. Their generalisations about what Labour is for would be expressed by him in only slightly different language. There's no doubt, he believes in greater social justice, in more economic fairness, in attacking poverty. He himself has said that if there's been no alleviation of poverty by the end of a Labour government, it will

more severe they could become. In fact, yesterday's proceedings should have been reassuring. Neither Chris Smith nor Gordon Brown made any new promises. But the agenda in which they were instructing this new party of government adds up to quite a lot. The conference managers did well to begin with Health. It's the one area where the leadership can't be suspected of taking much from the Tories. The speech of the minister-in-waiting gave the lie to the canny'd that Labour would make no difference. The end of the internal competitive market, the re-structuring of the health trusts and the ending of local pay determination will all help restore a true National Health Service. A specific hedge is made on waiting lists for cancer surgery. Banning tobacco advertising is a radical attack on the poison business. Likewise Gordon Brown. The national minimum wage is no joke. The Child Benefit switch for over-16s is a painful, sensible, practical expedient. I don't know what the "national child care strategy" will add up to, but there's no excuse for pretending the Labour leadership isn't as committed on both skillings and youth employment.

## Blair is horrified that anyone might doubt he won't lead a radical government

have been a pointless exercise. But he doesn't always say things as abrasively as that. He appeals all the time for seriousness, professionalism, discipline. Because he's wracked more than anyone in his party by awareness of what might go wrong in the next six months, he regards discipline as a synonym for the silence, desirably, of almost everyone except himself. That's what makes the Hattersleys worried. They fear that this preternatural caution must cast doubt on whether the Labour government, they think certain, will really make a difference. At the moment, these alarms are mere skirmishes. But the more certain victory gets, the

# Breast beating in the age of adventure



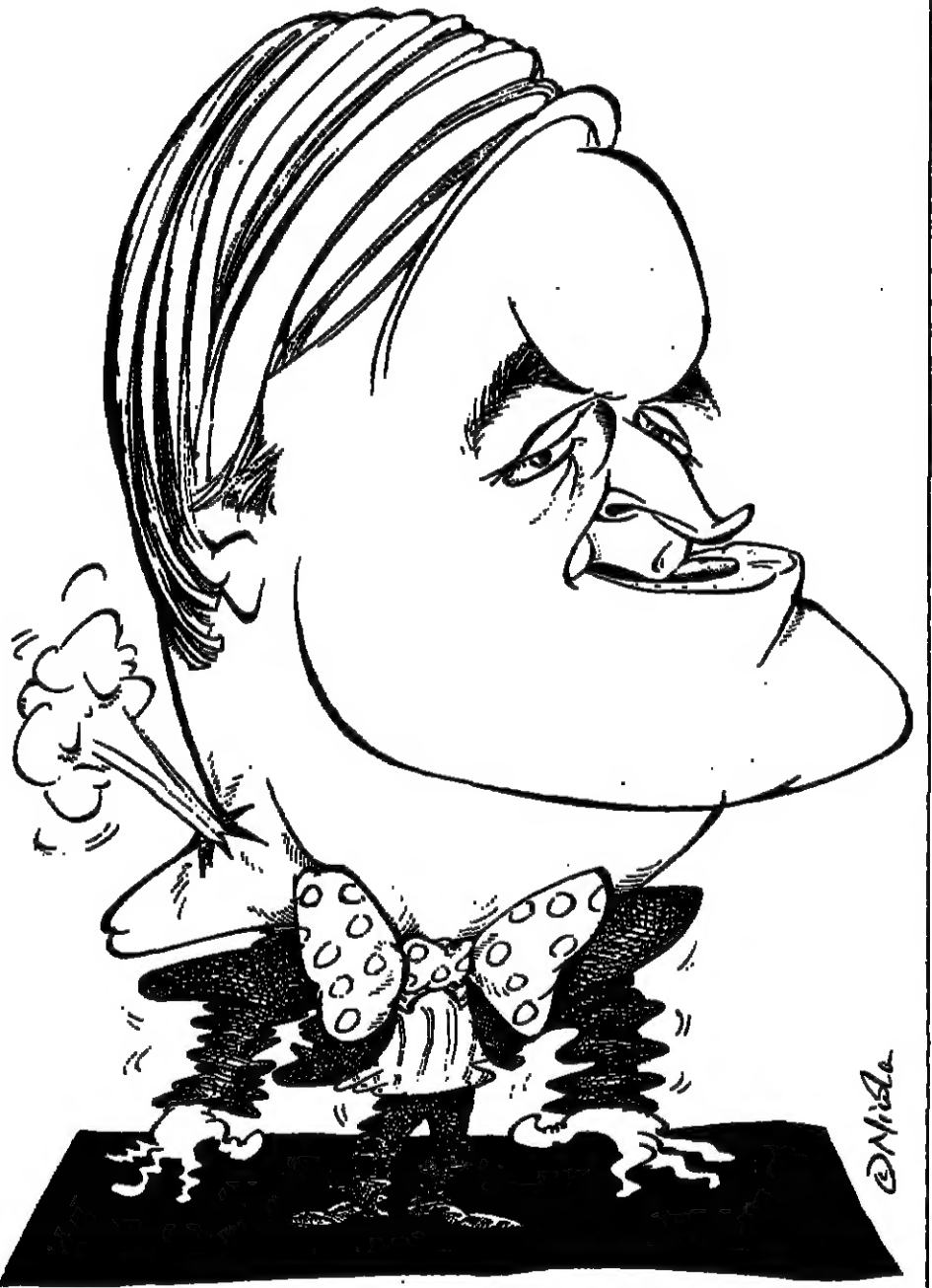
Rachel Cusk

TODAY marks the beginning of Breast Cancer Awareness Month, in which it is hoped that younger women in particular will be instilled with that 20th-century virtue — awareness — about a disease whose death rates are now thought to be higher in Britain than anywhere else. Breast cancer is not new, nor is its treatment. Fanny Burney's account of her un-aesthetised mastectomy in 1811 will be etched upon the mind of anyone who has read it. Over the past century, however, it has become a scourge of the West, and in the 35-54 age range is the single biggest cause of death for women in Britain. Although the risk of developing breast cancer roughly doubles with every decade of a woman's life, it is among the over-65s that mammography and early treatment really begin to level these rates off, reducing the number of deaths by a third. Fashion Targets Breast Cancer, the campaign launched earlier this year in a most welcome and conciliatory manner by the industry which has tormented women's bodies for decades, lent the confidence of peer acknowledgment to an affliction more used to keeping company with shame and concealment. Younger women read the book and bought the T-shirt. They even wore the T-shirt, doubtlessly over Wonderbra-enhanced cleavages. Of what use is all this "awareness" to those for whom breast cancer still represents a relatively distant threat? The answer is that while the incidence of the disease among relatives presents a danger to some young women, its causes, about which new information is emerging all the time, will be of interest to all of them. That breast cancer should have progressed from relative obscurity to afflict more than 32,000 women in Britain each year, 14,500 of whom die from it, requires some explanation. This explanation invariably features the phrase "Western lifestyle". When people talk about "Western lifestyle", especially as a contagion invading clean-living, holistic cultures like China's, they often mean "unnatural", with vague mental reference to images of people sitting in front of TVs swilling Diet Coke and eating hamburgers. In fact, "Western lifestyle" in this case encompasses social changes which, even if they too are "unnatural", would be hard, if not impossible, for women to give up. The factors believed to have

caused the unprecedented surge in breast-cancer rates are those which underpin to an alarming degree the freedoms of modern women. Having severe children, having them early, and breastfeeding them, is the course of action which offers the most substantial protection; failing to do these things incurs the most risk outside hereditary factors. A woman who has her first child after 35 is three times more likely to develop breast cancer than one who did so in her teens. "Awareness", in the light of this information, takes on rather a different tone. Awareness is not, it would seem, just a matter of being on the lookout for lumps. It is to some degree a matter of being told that you have a choice. A younger woman in possession of this awareness may alter her priorities and hence the course of her life. It is difficult to extricate common sense from the guilt, anxiety and fear which haunt the prospect of childbearing, and its delay, for many women. Thirty-five may well be the age at which the body turns against itself, complains at its unnatural singularity, but it is also the age around which women are likely to have reached, after some struggle, a plateau in their career ascent, on which it might be acceptable and comfortable to have children. We are accustomed to accept that any way of life found to be detrimental to our health should immediately be addressed. The self-destructive manner by the industry which has tormented women's bodies for decades, lent the confidence of peer acknowledgment to an affliction more used to keeping company with shame and concealment. Younger women read the book and bought the T-shirt. They even wore the T-shirt, doubtlessly over Wonderbra-enhanced cleavages. Of what use is all this "awareness" to those for whom breast cancer still represents a relatively distant threat? The answer is that while the incidence of the disease among relatives presents a danger to some young women, its causes, about which new information is emerging all the time, will be of interest to all of them. That breast cancer should have progressed from relative obscurity to afflict more than 32,000 women in Britain each year, 14,500 of whom die from it, requires some explanation. This explanation invariably features the phrase "Western lifestyle". When people talk about "Western lifestyle", especially as a contagion invading clean-living, holistic cultures like China's, they often mean "unnatural", with vague mental reference to images of people sitting in front of TVs swilling Diet Coke and eating hamburgers. In fact, "Western lifestyle" in this case encompasses social changes which, even if they too are "unnatural", would be hard, if not impossible, for women to give up. The factors believed to have

# Unpicking the web

Three years ago Mohamed Al-Fayed revealed to Peter Preston that Conservative MPs were asking questions for cash. So began the painstaking journalistic investigation that led to yesterday's extraordinary climbdown



IT BEGAN a long time ago and almost by accident. The Guardian had published a story about Saudi funding of the Conservative Party. Deep, instantly swirling waters. Hugo Young, the chairman of the Scott Trust, phoned me. A senior QC friend had called, saying Mohamed Al-Fayed thought he might be able to assist. Would I like to go along and see? June 14 1993. Asil Nadir had skipped to Northern Cyprus and was making waves. Michael Mates, the Northern Irish Minister, was about to have trouble with a wrist-watch. And I was in an office on the fifth floor of Harrods listening to his owner (and star of DTI reports) hurly-burly over the politicians and mores of the eighties. Mohamed Al-Fayed in full flow makes the young Muhammad Ali seem monosyllabic. Then, at random, 30 minutes on, he mentioned Tim Smith. The Conservative MP for Beaconsfield, he said, had been to see him just before the 1992 general election, trying to drum up campaign cash. "But I told him, go and ask your Saudi friends." Interesting, because Smith had become Deputy Treas-

urer at Central Office immediately after the election. But that was never going to be easy and many months of David Hencke and John Mul-lin toil only slowly began to unpick the web. Would Al-Fayed ever go public, putting his own testimony on the line? Fifteen months later, swelled with indignation, he did. When the libel crunch finally came, would he stand up in the witness box? You bet. He was vowing to go.

our job to get it into the open. That was never going to be easy and many months of David Hencke and John Mul-lin toil only slowly began to unpick the web. Would Al-Fayed ever go public, putting his own testimony on the line? Fifteen months later, swelled with indignation, he did. When the libel crunch finally came, would he stand up in the witness box? You bet. He was vowing to go.

the bizarre complexities of parliamentary privilege: which began, to my utter surprise, with the news that Mr Hamilton could not sue, and ended with a changed law which meant he could waive his privileges whilst others in the case could stay under ancestral wraps. The obvious truth — obviously recited by the Hamilton camp — was that the Guardian had started a sledge war, with the Tories in its narrowly political sights. That was not true in the beginning. It is not true now. The first flicker of the story just happened, to no set agenda. Gradually it began to turn into a bigger picture, one which ranged the reputation of Westminster-against-a successful, growing company — the leader in the lobbying field — secretly determined on marketing its wares in ways that would have made Erskine May's hair curl. Gradually you began to see how Ian Greer spread his bread upon the waters, creating an ever larger pool of admirers and future friends. Gradually you began to realise how vulnerable the old gentlemen's club by the Thames is when it faces people, inside and out, who don't play the game.

I knew that individual MPs had got into funding scrapes. But this seemed to be organised. It stank

Advertisement for ACTIONAID. Text: "They've both got diarrhoea but only one of them will die from it". Includes a form for donations and contact information for ACTIONAID.







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# Finance Guardian

## Souvenir hunters get flying start, duty-free

**T**HE British Museum yesterday opened a duty-free shop at Heathrow Airport, where travellers can stock up on reproduction Greek bronze heads of Aphrodite (right) at £300 plus or blue Egyptian scarabs at 43p. *writes Mavis Kennedy.*

Patrick Wright, managing director of the British Museum Company, the museum's trading arm, concedes that the shop will be supplying souvenirs to tourists who never get round to visiting the museum but would like to give the impression they have.

"I don't think it matters. It all increases interest in the museum and its wonderful collections, in the person who receives the gift as well as the giver."

What the shop's staff call "David's Bits" are already best-sellers. These are life-size reproductions of parts of Michaelangelo's David which were originally made in the 15th century as models for art students.

The airport shop is expected to increase the museum's profits by at least 50 per cent, to £1.5 million.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GAVIN WEAVER



## Notebook

### Hole in ground for bank funds



Edited by Patrick Donovan

**E**UROTUNNEL co-chairman Sir Alastair Morton must be bitterly regretting his recent claim that the company was just "eight hours" away from clinching a refinancing deal on its £8 billion debt mountain.

Far from being in a position to announce an agreement, Sir Alastair was yesterday forced to suspend shares because of the level of uncertainty about Eurotunnel's future. And it now looks like the negotiations with the banks are making so little progress that there is a very real risk that the company will be taken into administration *provisoirement* — the French equivalent of the US Chapter 11 method of ringfencing a business from creditors.

All now depends on the recommendations of the court-appointed arbitrators, Lord Wakeham and his French counterpart, Robert Badinter. Nothing has been made public, but the word is that the arbitrators' report proposes that Eurotunnel should write down its borrowings by a massive debt-for-equity swap which would give its bankers just under 50 per cent of its share capital.

This is obviously bad news for shareholders, many of whom are small punters who bought the stock because of the promise of travel discount perks. However the deal is cooked, it will result in a sharp drop in the share price which was last week hovering around a year's high at 115p.

But things could be even worse if no agreement is reached and Eurotunnel is obliged to go into administration *provisoirement*. This could lead to an indefinite suspension of shares and further hamper attempts to strike up any kind of refinancing agreement.

Putting the company into any kind of administration would be the worst of all possible options. The only way forward is to give Eurotunnel the means to support its bank borrowings by restructuring the company. And the sooner this is resolved, the better for all concerned.

right of every Labour front-bencher. And to some extent it was deserved. The idea was to contrast Labour's one-nation approach to the economy with the Government's skewing of rewards to the "privileged few".

A more careful analysis of the speech, however, revealed a few weaknesses. The fact that Labour is unprepared to assert that those guilty of boardroom excess should pay higher income tax means that it has had to fall back on a one-off windfall tax on the utilities to fund its back-to-work programme. Even if Mr Brown grabs £5 billion, he is only talking about less than 1 per cent of GDP on a non-recurring basis.

This underlines a more serious problem. Labour's approach to the economy, as outlined by Mr Brown, is entirely aimed at the supply side. There is barely a mention of demand, and where there is, it is to deny that demand management has any place in the running of modern Britain.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Supply side measures have their place, but will only be fully effective if demand is expanded to ensure there are jobs for university graduates and 18-year-old trainees.

Expansionist policies are possible without reigniting inflation, as the US has shown over the past four years. The Blairite modernisers have learned many lessons from across the Atlantic: it would be bizarre indeed if the most important lesson of all fell on deaf ears.

# Channel shares suspended

Risk of administration if talks on debt restructuring fail

Patrick Donovan  
City Editor

**D**EBT encumbered Eurotunnel risks being placed into administration under French law unless there is a realistic prospect of agreeing the restructuring of its £8 billion borrowings with its consortium of 330 international banks.

Although Eurotunnel is still hopeful that a deal can be thrashed out over the next few days, it took the unusual step of yesterday suspending its shares to avoid a false market being created by speculation over the future of the company.

Well-placed sources close

to the negotiations warned that a move to put the company into administration *provisoirement* — the French equivalent of the US Chapter 11 system of ring-fencing companies from their creditors — was being regarded as an option if the negotiations failed.

Any such move would result in shares being frozen indefinitely for the hundreds of thousands of small investors who hold 70 per cent of the company which is listed on both the London and Paris stock exchanges. Shares were suspended at 115p.

Lawyers acting for the French shareholder association, Adacta, said that banks would be hit hard by any move to put the company into administration. Georges Ber-



lioz, a lawyer, said: "The bank would indisputably be heavily penalised by an insolvency procedure."

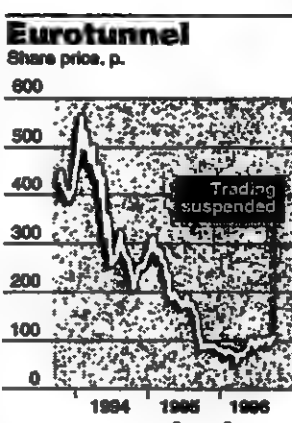
The warning came as both sides failed to strike an agreement by yesterday's expected deadline. A resolution had been expected as this date

marks the expiry of the mandate of Lord Wakeham and his French counterpart, Robert Badinter, who had been appointed as arbitrators by the French court.

Co-chairman of Eurotunnel, Sir Alastair Morton, had whipped up expectation that a deal was pending when earlier this month he said that the company and banks were "eight hours" away from an agreement.

It is understood that an outline financing agreement has been agreed in principle which is likely to involve a massive "debt-for-equity" transfer: the conversion of outstanding bank borrowing into shares to be held by the banks. If implemented, this is likely to see the banks holding up to 49 per cent of the company.

However, there are still disputes surrounding the hugely complicated restructuring programme, which includes



the issue of convertible bonds.

Sources suggest that if a deal can be struck it will be finalised over the next week.

Eurotunnel yesterday declined to make any formal comment. The talks are being headed by Midland and

National Westminster banks, together with their French counterparts, Banque Nationale de Paris and Credit Lyonnais. But the consortium has had difficulty in forming a consensus because of the different vested interests which include the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Investment Bank.

Analysts last night remained sceptical about when a deal could be reached. One said: "The trouble is that this has been going on for so long that it is difficult to know how seriously to take it."

Despite its financial problems, Eurotunnel has increased its market share against stiff competition from the rival ferries. Latest figures show that it now commands about 45 per cent of the cross-channel market although it has been building up traffic by slashing prices for its Le Shuttle services.

## Holiday Inn's chief checks out in a hurry

Ian King

**O**NE of the biggest jobs in the hotel industry was up for grabs last night after Tim Lane, president and chief executive of Holiday Inn, resigned after only seven months in the post.

Bass, the brewing and leisure group which owns Holiday Inn, said 47-year-old Mr Lane — who is likely to receive a seven-figure compensation payment — had resigned because of "fundamental differences" over management.

But City analysts reacted with surprise at the nature of Mr Lane's resignation, suggesting Bass had effectively prompted his departure, and claimed that the company faced a severe management problem at Holiday Inn.

In a terse statement, issued after the market closed, Bass said it had accepted Mr Lane's resignation with "immediate effect" and that he would be replaced by Bryan Langton, his predecessor in the post.

However, Bass's rules require executives to retire at the age of 60, which was why Mr Lane was brought in to replace Mr Langton, who is currently Holiday Inn's chairman and who was due to leave Bass in December.

Sources at Bass admitted there were "differences" with Mr Lane but sought to play down talk of a crisis, insisting that because Mr Lane had not yet formally joined the Bass board he would not be entitled to as much compensation as might be expected.

According to Bass's most recent annual report, Mr Langton received a total salary and pension package of £208,000, although it is thought that Mr Lane, as an American based in Atlanta,

would have been earning substantially more.

A Bass spokesman said: "We are not giving details of any pay-offs. We don't discuss an individual's arrangements with the company."

The spokesman said there had been no "black holes" at Holiday Inn but admitted there were "organisational differences" about how the business should be managed.

He added: "You have to keep an organisation like Holiday Inn going forward, and the manner in which he was going about it was not the way we felt he should."

City analysts suggested that Mr Lane may have left to prevent the possibility that other senior managers at Holiday Inn might resign in protest at his management style.

One said Bass would have to be careful in selecting a permanent replacement for Mr Lane because it could not be seen to have "made the same mistake twice".

He added: "You get the impression that Lane was a bit like a bull in a china shop. Holiday Inn was performing very strongly and had already been turned round — it appeared he was trying to do it again."

Bass, which completed the full acquisition of Holiday Inn in 1990 for \$2.8 billion (£1.8 billion), surprised the hotel industry when it appointed Mr Lane in February.

Mr Lane, who came from PepsiCo Restaurants, where he had been running the Pizza Hut, Taco Bell and Kentucky Fried Chicken operations in Asia, had not previously worked in the hotel industry, although his franchising experience was as highly relevant.

In its most recent trading statement, Bass said Holiday Inn made pre-tax profits of £76 million, up 18.8 per cent, in the 28 weeks to April 13.

## Brent Walker recoups £117m from betting stake of seven years ago

Roger Cowe

**A** SEVEN-YEAR legal battle came to an end yesterday with an arbitrator's ruling that the struggling leisure group Brent Walker overpaid when it bought the William Hill and Mecca betting chains from Grand Metropolitan in 1989.

Ray Hinton of the accountants Arthur Andersen ruled that Brent Walker had paid £117 million too much for the \$85 million acquisition because the betting profits were overstated. Brent Walker had sought to retrieve £336 million.

GrandMet will end up paying only £36 million because Brent Walker had withheld £50 million of the purchase price, which with accumulated interest totalled \$83 million.

The row was based on the profitability of the betting chains when they were sold. Under GrandMet's accounting practices, profits of

£256 million were declared for the year to September 1989. This was the sum on which the purchase price was based. But Mr Hinton said yesterday that the true profits were less than \$46 million.

A spokesman for Grand Metropolitan stressed that the company's accounting practices had been approved by auditors, and that accounting standards had been tightened considerably since the late 1980s.

He said the difference hung

on the issue of reorganisation costs. GrandMet had excluded the cost of "parallel running" administrative functions following its acquisition of William Hill from Sears.

Because a decision had been taken to close one of the offices, the cost of that office was treated as exceptional, thus inflating the profits that were declared to Brent Walker.

The purchase was the last in Brent Walker's dramatic acquisition spree, which saw

it grow from a small property-based business to a leisure conglomerate.

Soon after the acquisition, the company hit a financial crisis. George Walker, the firm's founder, was forced out and subsequently prosecuted by the Serious Fraud Office.

The company has been supported by bankers, who hoped for an orderly disposal of its remaining assets.

Yesterday's decision is likely to advance the sale of the William Hill chain, although several details still have to be agreed between Brent Walker and GrandMet.

GrandMet said yesterday that it hoped to settle outstanding matters quickly. Brent Walker said it would have to agree interest on the sum now due to it, as well as costs.

Interest on the £117 million could come to \$20 million. But GrandMet said the amount should not be subject to interest because there had been no breach of contract.

# World Bank plans poverty watch

Richard Thomas  
in Washington

**T**HE World Bank is planning a new watchdog to monitor the social effect of its development programmes, to counter claims that its policies are failing the world's poorest people.

As the finance ministers of the main industrialised nations yesterday put the final touches to an initiative to ease the debt burden on Third World countries, bank officials admitted that many lending and debt relief schemes had little effect on the lives of poor people.

The bank's central policy committee has now approved

a report from a task group on social development, commissioned by managing director James Wolfensohn. The paper calls for \$7 billion (£4 billion) to be channelled into a high-profile "Social Learning Group" within the Bank, charged with assessing the effect of all bank policies on inequality, poverty and the gender gap.

The unpublished report — passed to the Guardian — calls on Mr Wolfensohn to commit the bank to a more socially aware development philosophy. It warns that the bank's Country Assistance Strategies, which set out targets for reform of markets and tough fiscal controls, have a bias towards strictly

economic outcomes. "The strategy may proceed from an incomplete or even false understanding of key issues and the social dynamics of development," the paper warns.

"An assistance strategy which satisfies the bank and the government may fail as a tool for improving the lives of poor people in the borrowing country."

While the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, yesterday threw his weight behind an initiative from the World Trade Organisation to help poor countries trade their way out of poverty, the bank paper warns that growth rates or export volumes may not equate to a better standard of living for the bulk of the population.

The WTO director-general, Renato Ruggiero, yesterday called on Western countries to abolish tariffs on imports from the most indebted nations, and said he would be pushing WTO members to commit themselves to trade reform.

Mr Ruggiero said linking labour standards to trade liberalisation was still the most thorny issue dividing the industrialised countries, with Britain fiercely resisting any connection of trade and social legislation.

Aid agencies said the reluctance to use trade as a lever for enforcing better labour and social standards increased pressure on the bank to integrate social outcomes into its development strategy.

## Consult, please

**S**TILL smarting from the sacking of its last chief executive, Michael Lawrence, over market reforms, the Stock Exchange can ill afford more controversy about its plans to restructure the market with a new order-driven share dealing system. For all its effort to liaise with the City, however, it now looks like the Exchange faces dissent over its proposals for the market's biggest overhaul since the 1986 Big Bang.

Both the Exchange and the City believe that London needs to restructure its dealing system to hold its own in the fast-moving European equity markets. There is a general belief that the City will have to evolve to an order-driven market, whereby dealers post up the size and price of deals they are prepared to trade on electronic bulletin boards. This could represent a steady phasing out of traditional "market making" operations which involve dealers competing for orders on the basis of price.

But although the Exchange has the City's backing in principle, it risks jeopardising its position because of the speed with which it is pushing through this reform — without sorting out either the tax implications or technical problems involved in dealing in major trades.

The Exchange must resolve these differences promptly if it wants to avoid the risk of becoming embroiled in yet another City row.

## Demand matters

**P**OLITICIANS always put on a show for the party faithful at conference time. The activists who knock on doors or tele-canvass, these days — expect a bit of knockabout, and they get it.

Gordon Brown's offering in Blackpool yesterday was a classic of its genre. It had some sideswipes at Kenneth Clarke, a dig at Lord Saatchi and unrepentant swings on the "boardroom excesses" of the privatised utilities.

The shadow chancellor dutifully received the standing ovation that is seen as the

## Lang says firms would pay dear for Labour Euro plan

Rebecca Smithers  
Political Correspondent

**I**AN Lang, the Trade and Industry Secretary, yesterday warned that Tony Blair had effectively signed "a blank cheque" on behalf of British companies by committing Labour to the European Social Chapter on working conditions.

Mr Lang's warning that the commitment could cost British industry billions of pounds came on the day that shadow chancellor Gordon Brown reaffirmed Labour's plans to sign up to the Social Chapter from which the Government negotiated an opt-out.

"Tony Blair is deceiving himself and misleading the country if he thinks he can sign on and escape the consequences," Mr Lang said. "The Government believes that ac-

cepting the Social Chapter would be tantamount to signing a blank cheque."

Mr Lang was launching a government booklet which sets out its opposition to the Social Chapter. Translated into French, German, Spanish and Italian, the 16-page booklet will be sent to tens of thousands of British and continental companies, MPs and MEPs.

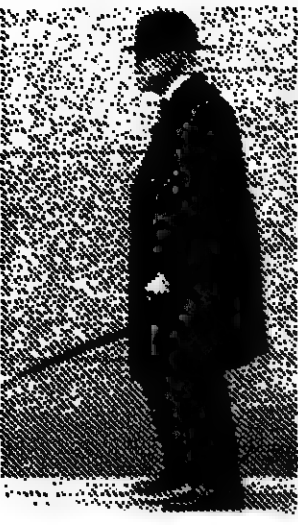
It claims in a Eurosceptic tone that the competitiveness of British business and thousands of UK jobs would be jeopardised by accepting the Chapter. Unfavourable examples of continental practices are cited, and Pierre Godfroid, chairman of the loss-making Belgian airline Sabena, is quoted as saying: "If Sabena were established in the UK and had only to apply British costs to its personnel, then Sabena would be in profit today."

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Belgium 47.50	Greece 383.25	Netherlands 2.58	Spain 194.25
Canada 2.077	Hong Kong 11.76	New Zealand 2.77	Sweden 1.103
Cyprus 0.703	India 55.74	Norway 9.50	Switzerland 1.89
Denmark 8.91	Ireland 0.9475	Portugal 236.00	Turkey 137.220
Finland 7.022	Israel 4.99	Saudi Arabia 5.82	USA 1.5250

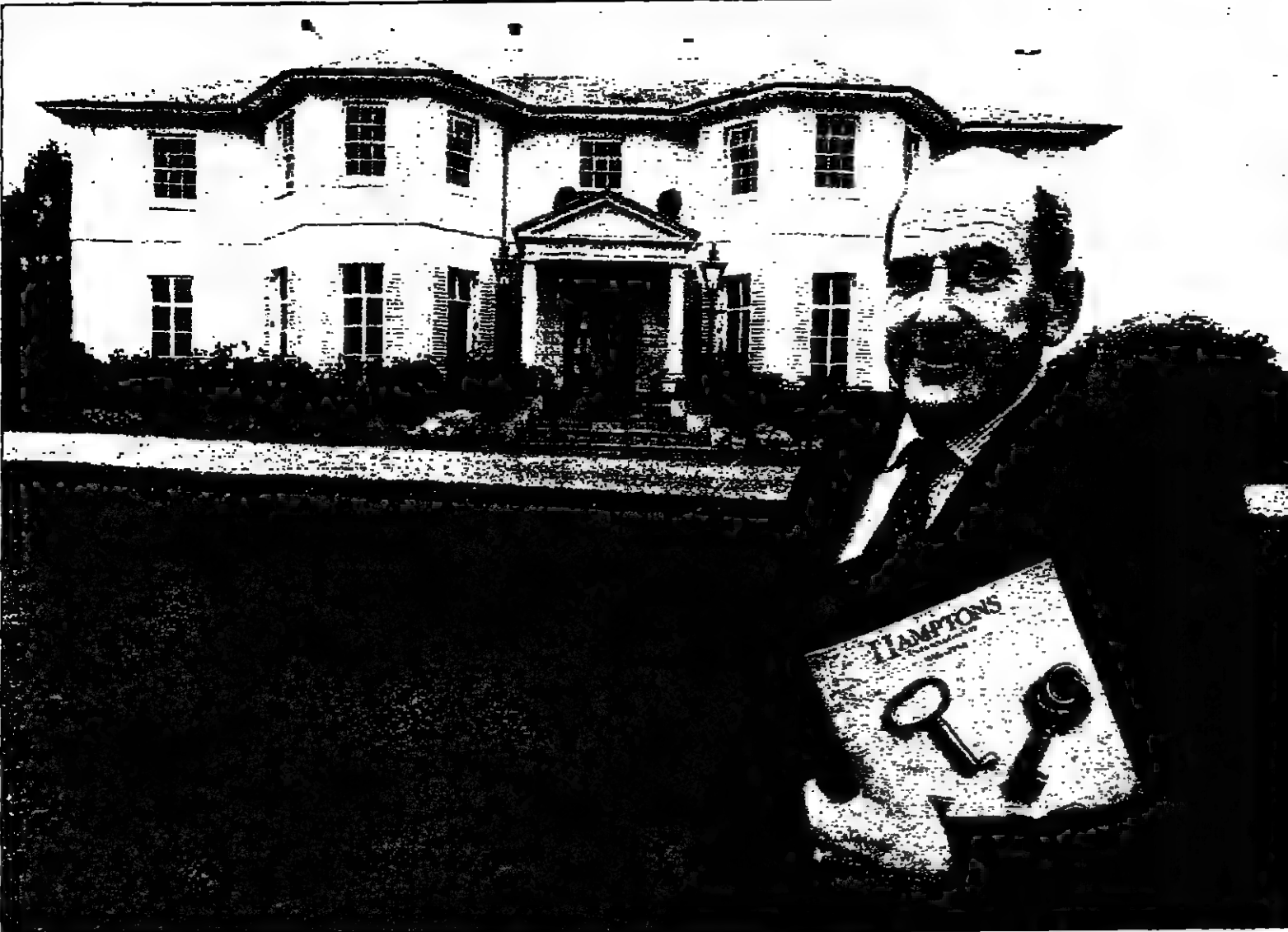
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**BIG BANG**  
10 years on

In the second of our series, DAN ATKINSON charts the hedonism that couldn't last after the crash on Black Monday



Key to the City gates... the £1.5 million rural retreat for the newly refurbished gent and his family

# Rise and fall of the young ones

In a distant era of human history BBB (Before Big Bang), the City was populated by bowler-hatted gents who "worked" leisurely hours, spent half their lives doing crosswords on trains and the other half dozing in club armchairs.

Or so the myth-makers would have you believe. In fact, old-school City types, whether on the Exchange floor, in merchant banks or at Lloyd's, always broke sweat when necessary.

But, unlike their successors — the soft young men and women of Big Bang — they did not make a song and dance about it.

Nor did they advertise their out-of-hours high-jinks, despite the fact that the much-publicised champagne-guzzling of the late 1980s probably registered no higher on the intoxicometer than some of the epic lunches and evening entertainments of earlier decades.

Insofar as the image of general lethargy was ever true, it

## Top brass abandon town to bury their gold in rural piles

LIVING room, kitchen, dining room, three bedrooms — and that's just the porter's lodge. The big house itself runs to 14 bedrooms, a wine cellar, a courtyard and a "strong room".

This is Todington Park, Bedfordshire (see above), the hardest evidence yet that smelting City salaries really have brought the housing market back from the grave. Somewhere out there is a well-established City gent with a large family who needs spend only the odd day in Town and who may well decide this is just the place to hang his hat for a while.

And the cost? Hampton's of St James's, which is handling the sale, is looking for £1.5 million, about double

what could have been expected a few years ago during the pit of the recession. That's the sort of money to make even a junior partner at Goldman Sachs has a rethink. Even so, Charles Mackenzie, Hampton's country-house director, reckons even a more down-to-earth period home could be hitting the £1 million mark over.

The City may have been through a lean time but the survivors are back in force as earnings — for the big brass, at least — roar ahead. Late-marrying City analysts, directors, solicitors and other professionals are shifting to the sticks, sending top prices back to between 70 and 120 per cent of their 1993 peak.

The very best homes, Mr Mackenzie warned, are for the gold-plated elite; traders and market-makers, who need to be close to the City, are unlikely to join the party. This is strictly an event for those able to "shove" either a substantial cash pile of their own or (increasingly rare) a super-secure top job. Crashed borrowing, 1990s-style, is out, said Mr Mackenzie, as is the scramble to buy a house — any house.

"The least popular house was popular in '93," he said. "Now there is a degree of sense in the market." Today, he said, the high-earners prefer homes which they can speculate.

applied largely to the City's professionals, the accountants and solicitors. In law and accounting, there has been a real revolution of working habits and environment: the vast new merged firms, housed in office blocks resembling Aztec temples,

would be unrecognisable to the managing partners of yesterday as the frantic, round-the-clock activity on behalf of "the client".

But if there was one thing the eighties media loved more than a lifestyle, it was a lifestyle "that has changed out of

all recognition". So it was decreed that Big Bang marked Year Zero for a new breed in the City.

Which, despite the exaggerations, it did — although in the high-rolling of the new young rich that commanded atten-

tion but their clean living and above all, their dedication to work.

The newly-minted young professionals furnished their homes in Islington, Highbury and "South Chelsea" (Battersea) with classic good taste: special attention was given to kitchen fittings and culinary equipment.

Their one real indulgence was their cars (solid BMWs were favourite), their one real social forum the dinner party.

This lifestyle spoke of a certain earnestness and reliability, an image shattered beyond repair by Black Monday on October 19, 1987.

The crash proved beyond doubt that the new, young "talent" was not up to the job. While the "young professionals" started to disbelieve at their screens, it was left to the despised veterans to rally the troops and hold the fort.

The media never really forgave the shock workers for Black Monday.

As 1987 turned into 1988, the spotlight shifted from the long hours, the work-hard-play-hard, keep-fitness and the impeccable personal taste on lurid tales of cocaine addiction on trading floors, of 10-pint lager sessions followed by the "quest for fire" (a curry) and a ride home on the "fruit comet" trains out of Liverpool Street.

Exit the Yuppie, enter — courtesy of Midweek magazine — the Yobbo.

By the end of the decade, young men in strappy shirts

# £700m lost as ADT deal collapses

Tony May

MORE than £700 million was wiped off the market value of Michael Ashcroft's ADT group after the Bermuda-based security and car auction company said its \$4 billion (£2.7 billion) merger with Republic Industries had collapsed.

The all-share deal with Republic, a US waste disposal company, would have created the largest security firm in the US. Mr Ashcroft stood to make about £200 million from the deal.

But the plan ran into trouble after Republic's share price dropped by nearly one third at a time when US stock markets were booming.

The merger also met serious opposition from Western Resources, a US utility company with a 24 per cent stake in ADT. In a filing with Wall Street watchdog the Securities and Exchange Commission, Western Resources said that it found the all-share nature of the deal unacceptable.

Later, the companies were said to be haggling over the terms of the transaction, with some sources speculating that Mr Ashcroft was seeking new terms in order to protect ADT shareholders against volatility in Republic's share price.

Yesterdays ADT and Republic blamed the breakdown on "uncertainty, mainly attributable to stock market conditions over the past two months". ADT's share price fell 60p to 1,200p.

Mr Ashcroft said: "The delay in completing the transaction forced both companies to put business expansion plans on hold for too long. They will now be free to resume their individual business plans."

Jeffrey Kessler, an analyst at Lehman Brothers, put ADT back on his buy-list yesterday, arguing that ADT was likely to strengthen its position and market share, partly through acquisitions.

He added that new products could add as many as 100,000 accounts in 1997, and went on to predict that another suitor for the group could emerge in the next two or three years.

Republic chairman and chief executive Wayne Huizenga said: "We have agreed this combination is no longer in the best interests of our respective companies."

This is the first blow to Mr Huizenga's plans to create a mammoth group with interests in security, rubbish collection and used-car superstores. He had engineered more than 30 acquisitions since taking over the formerly sleepy rubbish-hauler just over a year ago.

## News in brief

### Refuge wins over merger opponents

REFUGE Group, the door-to-door life insurance company that is proposing a merger with industry rival United Friendly, headed off a shareholder rebellion yesterday by offering investors a sweetener.

The company said it had devised a new type of security that would guarantee shareholders access to any surplus assets in its life fund beyond the £430 million already released.

Britannic Assurance, which holds just over 10 per cent of Refuge shares and had opposed the merger, indicated it would accept the new terms. The deal will create United Assurance, the UK's fourth-largest door-to-door insurer. — Richard Miles

### Newsprint costs Guardian

THE Guardian Media Group yesterday blamed higher newsprint prices and an increase in redundancy payments for a 38 per cent drop in profits to £20.1 million in the year to March. The cost of newsprint rose by £10.3 million. The redundancy charge was \$4.7 million, against £3.4 million the year before.

But the company, whose stable includes the Guardian and Observer as well as regional publications and broadcasting interests, said underlying trading was stronger than the headline figures suggested. Newsprint prices were easing and, although advertising volume was not buoyant, chairman Harry Roch said it was "reasonable to expect some growth". The company said costs associated with the transfer of newspaper printing to West Ferry from the Guardian Press Centre, which was damaged by an IRA bomb, were expected to total about £20 million and would be shown in next year's accounts. — Lisa Buckingham

### Britannia buys home loans

BRITANNIA, the UK's sixth-largest building society, has bought Citibank's £1.1 billion mortgage portfolio for an undisclosed sum. The society will be sending letters to holders of the 30,000 residential mortgages involved, explaining how their loans are to be administered. — Jill Papworth

### Keptit comes clean

KEPIT, the ailing £500 million Kleinwort European Privatization Investment Trust at the centre of a bidding war, yesterday came clean on the terms of its recommended cash offer to shareholders. Directors of Keptit said its offer was worth 106.4p per share and a fifth warrant, compared with 104.8p from hostile bidder TR European Growth. — Richard Miles

### Droning on — eight years late

PHOENIX, the army's £227 million battlefield reconnaissance drone, has been given fresh Ministry of Defence endorsement after 11 years of technical failure. The decision, after 12 months of remedial work by GEC Marconi at the company's expense, means the drone should enter service in 1998 — eight years late and way over the contract price of £90 million. The small pilotless aeroplane is launched from the back of a lorry. The problem has been that it again without smashing the electronic equipment with which it sends back pictures of artillery targets. The solution is a parachute and airbag. — David Fairhall

# Green tax fails to please anyone

## ROGER COWE on the landfill levy that has united opposing camps

FROM this morning, rubbish dumped in landfill sites will be subject to a "green tax". Every tonne of waste will be charged an extra £2 if it is inert material, or £7 for other waste, including local authority collections of household refuse.

The tax has taken two years to come to fruition, and has been widely criticised on all sides.

The Environmental Services Association, the trade body which represents waste collection companies, said yesterday that the tax would add to costs and push up council tax bills.

Friends of the Earth, however, said the tax was not high enough to achieve its objective of reducing the amount of rubbish dumped in landfill sites.

"It's a small green step in the right direction. But it won't really work," said FoE campaigner Mike Childs.

On this point the two sides agree. ESA chairman and chief executive, Peter Neill, said: "I am sceptical whether isolated economic instruments will be enough to encourage sustainable waste management."

There is also agreement on the overall objective of reducing rubbish dumping. Apart from being a waste of potentially valuable resources, landfill sites can be a source of pollution, both through leaching in to land and water sources and through the creation of the greenhouse gas, methane, as rubbish decomposes.

But that is where the consensus ends. FoE cites a study for the Government by consultants Coopers & Lybrand which estimated that the current level of tax will increase recycling by only 1 per cent. It wants the tax set at a minimum £30 per tonne and it wants that sum also levied on incineration, to avoid the levy diverting waste from landfill

sites to incinerators, which it believes are dangerous and do not encourage sustainability.

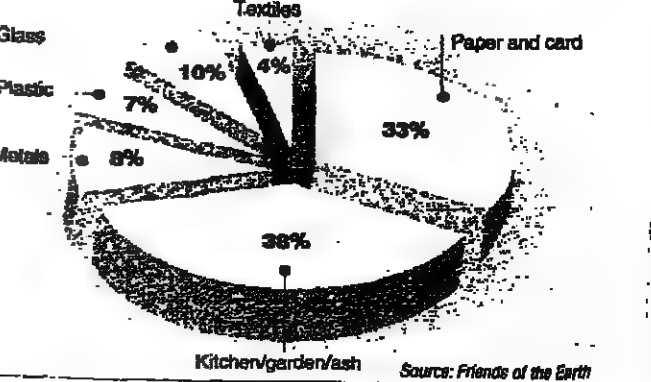
The industry is concerned that now the tax is in place, the sum could easily be increased by a hard-up Chancellor. Just like tax on booze or cigarettes. And it argues that a hefty landfill bill will increase illegal fly-tipping.

There is not even agreement on the greatest part of the plan — the creation of Environmental Trusts, financed by up to 20 per cent of the tax revenues.

Everyone agrees they are a good thing, but FoE worries that they will be supervised by a regulator largely controlled by the industry.

The tax will not even help the Chancellor in his Budget arithmetic, since he promised from the start that the impact on industry would be neutral. The sums raised for the Treasury will be offset by reductions in national insurance contributions.

## The household rubbish bin



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lost deals

Dazzle to repel French raider

Ken Oliver

DAZZLE, Michael Stoute's fleet-footed filly who has lived up to her name in two sparkling performances, puts her reputation on the line at Newmarket today in the Shadwell Stud Cheveley Park Stakes.

Her victories, at Royal Ascot and Newmarket, have elevated her to number one spot in the juvenile fillies' ratings and 4-1 market leader for next year's 1,000 Guineas — a price that will be drastically reduced if she completes the hat-trick with authority.

The main stumbling block could be Pas de Repose, whose trainer, Crispin Head, won this group one race in 1987 with Ravinella, who went on to Guineas glory.

The French filly certainly impressed when winning the group three Prix d'Ardenberg at Evry earlier this month when it was declared that a crack at Dazzle was next on the agenda.

Dazzle started her campaign at Royal Ascot in June when, after a slow start, she ran away with the Windsor Castle Stakes.

She followed up with Cherry Hinton Stakes, over the six-furlong July Course at Newmarket, where she showed blistering speed to beat Ocean Ridge by five lengths. A performance that prompted the ante-post layers to make her the hot favourite for the Guineas.

It is hard to imagine Ocean Ridge turning the tables and the best of the others appears to be Moonlight Paradise from the informal Godolphin stable.

Moonlight Paradise has improved with each outing and with that man Dettori in the saddle she will have her supporters, but I take Dazzle to score from Pas de Repose.

David Loder has a stable full of juvenile talent and could take the three two-year-old races with Moonlight Paradise, but he is expected to follow up in the Tattersalls Boughton Sales Stakes.

Abou Zoum (2.05) came back to form in the Gimcrack Stakes at York in August when beating Compton Place by half a length. Loder has always had a relationship of trust.

"Look, love," said one of them. "We get 13 or 14 new horses in a week. We haven't got time to muck about like that."

Monky Roberts is currently touring the UK. For information call 01684 594800/594900. His book, The Man Who Likes To Horses, newly on sale here, is published by Hutchinson, price £16.99.



Kissing the pink... Monty Roberts takes time out to nuzzle a graduate from his classes

Report by Jill Turner Photographs by Richard Wintle

Courses for horses - the Roberts regime

HORSES listen to Monty Roberts. The 61-year-old American spent his youth studying wild mustangs on the Nevada plains and claims to have taught himself their language. As a result he can persuade a barely handled, highly strung novice to accept a bridle, saddle and rider in less than 30 minutes.

Horses may be quickly receptive to the former rodeo rider, but some members of the racing fraternity have been harder to woo. This angers the American who, as a boy, was traumatised by the experience of watching his father beating horses into submission to "break" them.

The adult Monty developed his own training methods based on trust and mutual respect. "The absence of communication between man and horse has led to a disastrous history of cruelty and abuse and it is counter-productive," said Roberts while in Lambourn last month.

"We haven't captured the willing co-operation of the horse nearly as much as we might have done and that is

our considerable loss — both in emotional terms and with respect to the performance and work we might selfishly gain from them."

Roberts, who inspired the best-selling novel and forthcoming film The Horse Whisperer, bases his methods on equine psychology. Horses, he says, are flight animals and need the security of numbers. Once they have been taken from a group they will want to "join up" with another or, failing that, a human being for safety. When they trust a human they will willingly comply — a lot quicker than if forced into submission.

There was a telling example earlier this year. The trainer Con Marnane in the Republic of Ireland had attended one of Roberts's talks and was anxious to try the methods on a sloppy colt he was trying to break.

Marnane created a round pen in one of the back paddocks and began the "join-up" procedure. Surprised, the animal complied — for a while. Then he ducked under the tapes and galloped off to the far corner of the paddock; it

took 20 minutes to catch and return him. At the next attempt he again broke out and cantered around the field. However, he took less time to catch and trotted back meekly. He also fled a third and final time but this time stood waiting to be caught. Within half an hour he was accepting a saddle and bridle and

who first invited him to England to work on several of their young racehorses. "To date he has started more than 145 winners including the dual Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe winner Alleged. The Household Cavalry mounts are also started with his methods but, despite much of the British racing

fraternity's scepticism, some call on Roberts as an equine psychologist when they encounter a difficult animal. One such beast was Lomitas, a German-owned colt and a champion two-year-old before he started refusing races after developing a phobia about the starting stalls. In May 1991 he was banned "for life". On June 28 that year, after 10 days with Roberts, he went into the stalls like a lamb and won the race. Lom-

tas became a champion three-year-old and the highest-rated German racehorse ever.

But tradition dies hard. "I am still surrounded by scepticism," says Roberts' People look at me and think, 'Here's some jumped-up Californian telling [us] the way we've been doing things for a hundred years is wrong.' It's

children, I can assure you. "The trainers say 10 per cent of horses are a problem. I'd say it's nearer 50 per cent. Thirty per cent are on the incorrect list at the starting gate — not going in, kicking out, hurting people, messing about and delaying the race. Many are eliminated and sent home at an enormous cost."

Roberts, naturally, is against the whip and appalled by the ongoing rows about what constitutes "excessive" use. "It's more destructive than constructive because it causes many more accidents than it prevents. What confounds me is that no one can see how easy it would be to ban it completely. The best horse would still be the best horse and the best rider."

So what is the secret of Roberts's whipless success? "I don't really see how you, as a woman, can ask me that," he says crossly. "Imagine you are drinking in a bar and I come up and say, 'Okay, you're coming with me, I will make you do what I want because I am stronger than you.' How successful is that going to be?"

Okay, I can drag you out by the hair because I have the physical power but in the end what will I have achieved?"

"Will you ever be as good to me if you are acting out a fear as if you were in a loving relationship with a man and were pleasing him because it was your choice to do so? It is the same with the horse."

Down at The George in Lambourn a couple of grnarled jockeys were sharing a few plinks while mulling over their selections for the next day.

"I don't really see how you, as a woman, can ask me that," he says crossly. "Imagine you are drinking in a bar and I come up and say, 'Okay, you're coming with me, I will make you do what I want because I am stronger than you.' How successful is that going to be?"

"Look, love," said one of them. "We get 13 or 14 new horses in a week. We haven't got time to muck about like that."

Monky Roberts is currently touring the UK. For information call 01684 594800/594900. His book, The Man Who Likes To Horses, newly on sale here, is published by Hutchinson, price £16.99.

Newmarket runners and riders with form

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Distance. Includes 1.30 Maiden Stakes, 1.40 Maiden Stakes, 1.50 Maiden Stakes.

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Pipe in no hurry to find Bridgwater replacement

MARTIN PIPE is in no hurry to choose a replacement for David Bridgwater, who has quit his job as the champion jump trainer's retained jockey.

Pipe said yesterday that Bridgwater's decision to go freelance came as a "total shock" and now plans to offer rides to the defending champion jockey Tony McCoy as well as using Chris Maude, who had been acting as the yearling back-up to Bridgwater.

He is in no hurry to find a replacement. "When and if it does arise that we get someone else we'll let everyone know," he said.

"There's no rush to get anyone else as the majority of my better horses won't be running until we get the softer ground in November. If the likes of Exeter and Taunton this week we'll use them."

Pipe suggested Bridgwater's split has benefited the jump jockeys' championship on a plate to McCoy. "Tony

McCoy should be very pleased," he commented.

The Nicholshayne trainer said Bridgwater's decision to sever a partnership which brought him 111 winners from 426 rides was a total surprise.

"He phoned me at 5.45 on Thursday evening and that was the first I'd heard of it," said Pipe.

Frankie Dettori fever hit Bath yesterday where the Italian rider, who rode all seven winners at Newmarket Saturday, could manage just one win in the opening event on the Queen's Sabina, leaving him one win short of his century for the season.

Crowds of racegoers besieged the weighing room hoping for a glimpse of the hero and a chance of obtaining his autograph.

Yeast is unlikely to run in the Tote Cambridgeshire at Newmarket on Saturday. William Haggan, the colt's trainer, said: "He will probably go for a Listed race at Newmarket on Thursday."

Results

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Winner. Includes 2.00 Maiden Stakes, 2.10 Maiden Stakes, 2.20 Maiden Stakes, 2.30 Maiden Stakes, 2.40 Maiden Stakes, 2.50 Maiden Stakes, 3.00 Maiden Stakes, 3.10 Maiden Stakes, 3.20 Maiden Stakes, 3.30 Maiden Stakes, 3.40 Maiden Stakes, 3.50 Maiden Stakes, 4.00 Maiden Stakes, 4.10 Maiden Stakes, 4.20 Maiden Stakes, 4.30 Maiden Stakes, 4.40 Maiden Stakes, 4.50 Maiden Stakes, 5.00 Maiden Stakes, 5.10 Maiden Stakes, 5.20 Maiden Stakes, 5.30 Maiden Stakes, 5.40 Maiden Stakes, 5.50 Maiden Stakes.

HAMILTON

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The man who talks to horses, page 13

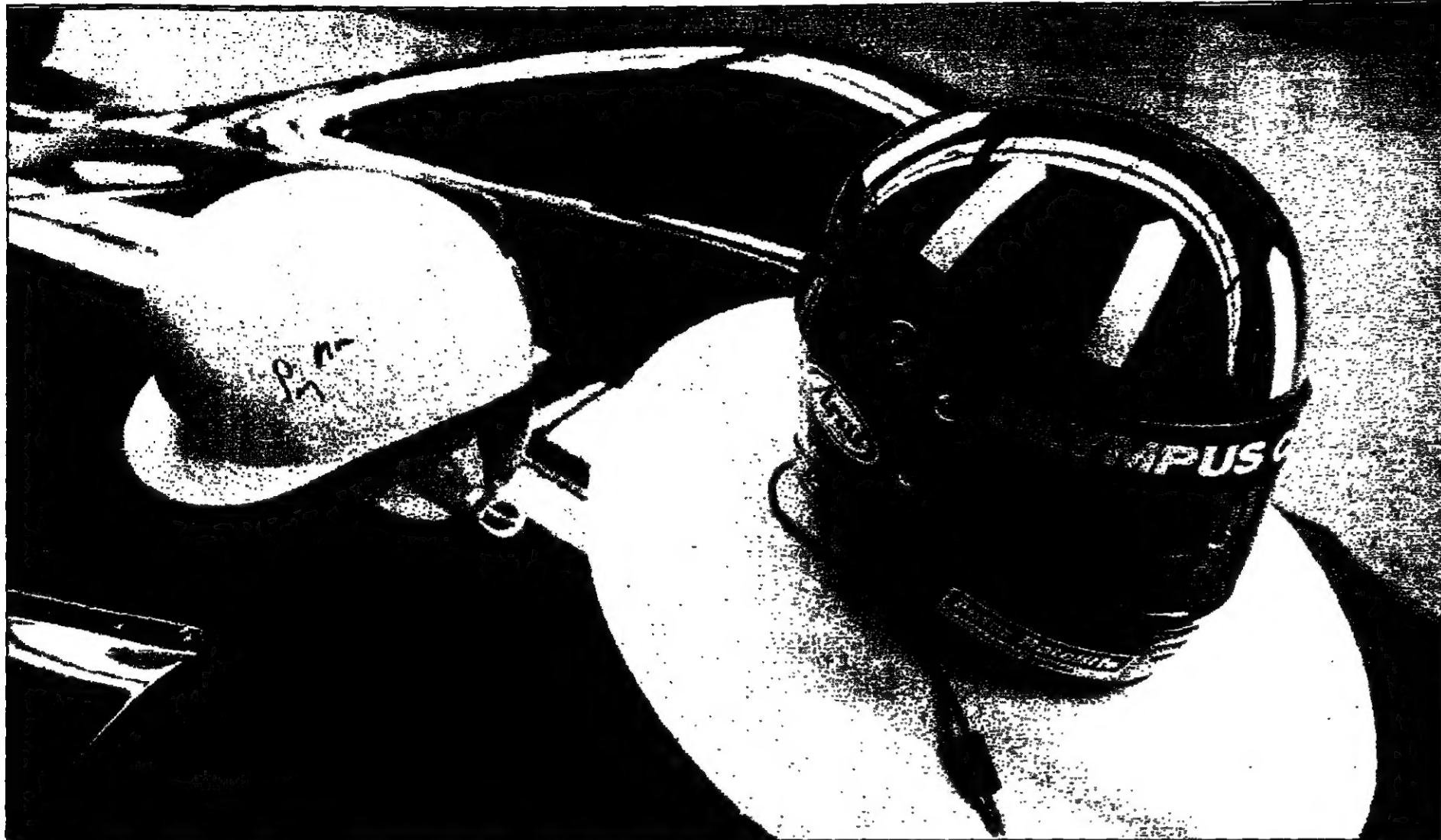
Lancashire grab Sri Lanka coach, page 15

FA calls in the referees, page 14

Wasps endorse super-club plan, page 15

# SportsGuardian

## MOTOR-RACING MEMORABILIA UNDER THE HAMMER



Hot-trick... the helmet Stirling Moss wore throughout his career and the one worn by Damon Hill in his maiden grand prix qualifying race in 1992 were two of the items among 118 lots in a sale of motor-racing memorabilia at the Dorchester Hotel last night. It was the first time a Moss helmet had been put up for sale at auction. PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN GOWEN

## Joke is on the other foot for Gazza



Richard Williams

**I**F YOU pay a man, say, £100,000 for the right to spend a year following him around with a television crew, do you really expect him to let you see and hear everything that goes on? Or does the payment, rather than buying you unhindered access to his innermost secrets, more subtly reinforce his powers of exclusion and control?

demand, how many clubs were interested, they completely changed their mind and it's now a cash-only deal. Gascoigne: "Mhm." Lazarus: "And, quite honestly, I mean you're talking about the sort of figures that... they're talking about between four and five million pounds." Gascoigne: "Yeah." A minute or so later they decide on Rangers. "The upside," Stein says, "is that it's obviously out of the firing-line in terms of England." Footballers and their agents are often heard to complain about the intrusiveness of the media. Yet here, acting on Gascoigne's behalf, Stein and Lazarus were apparently happy to provide access to private negotiations involving third parties. Or at least the semblance of access. There is nothing in Gazza's Coming Home to match the spellbinding grossness of the Taylor programme. We already knew that Gazza likes drink, that he is most comfortable in the presence of his family and mates, that he scores wonderful goals, that his recent wedding rivalled the coronation of Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa in its modesty, and that he likes to wind people up. We are not surprised to learn that, for once, he was the victim of a team mate's wind-up which led to the lamentable invisible-goal incident.

## Hooydonk faces suspension

Patrick Glenn on why Celtic are at their wits end with the 'disruptive' Dutch striker

**C**ELTIC are to consider suspending their Dutch striker Pierre van Hooydonk after dropping him for Saturday's Old Firm match amid claims that the player had been responsible for breaches of club discipline. The Celtic chairman Fergus McCann and the manager Tommy Burns yesterday pointed out that the terms of Van Hooydonk's contract permit such a course of action. "If he or any other player isn't happy here or can get

better paid elsewhere," added Burns, "they can leave. We'll simply replace them." Van Hooydonk had claimed, during a widely-aired defence on radio and in the press, that he was being forced out of Parkhead although he insisted he had not asked for a move. "That's not the case," McCann countered. "At a meeting in my office 10 days ago, at which the player and three other people, including myself, were present, he told us that if he didn't get an increase in terms on his present

contract, he wanted to leave the club. "He was told then, and it still goes, that we are prepared to better his wages if he will sign an extension to his existing agreement, which, don't forget, still has 21 months to run. All he wants is more money without the further commitment." Burns also revealed that the 28-year-old Van Hooydonk, who was yesterday named in the Holland squad to face Wales on Saturday, had told him at the end of last season that Feyenoord were interested in signing him and he wanted to join them. Van Hooydonk, who has scored 52 goals since he signed from NAC Breda in

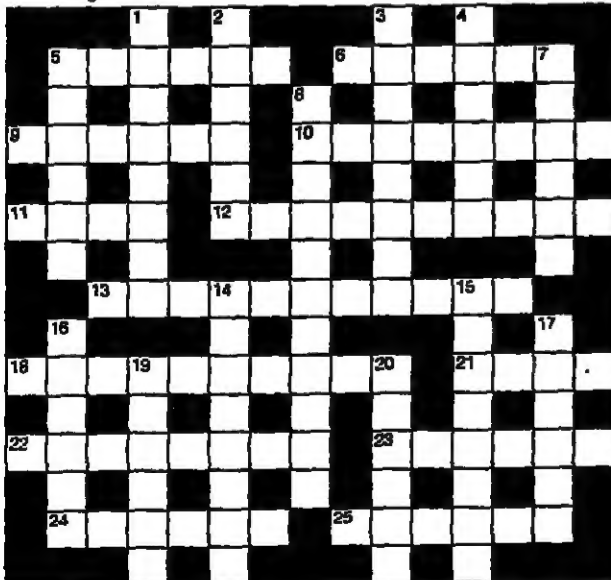
January, 1995, has established himself as a favourite with the Celtic supporters. But Burns yesterday claimed that the Dutchman is a disruptive influence in the dressing-room and claimed that if Van Hooydonk is to be considered for Celtic "he will have to learn humility". The manager claimed that Van Hooydonk refused to take part in several commercial and charitable promotions for the club, had refused to join team-mates in pre-match warm-ups when told to, and had generally been disruptive. "Players are coming in here and asking how is he getting away with this or getting away with that," said Burns.

"We can't have that. It's not about any individual, including Tommy Burns or Fergus McCann. It's about moving the club forward towards its goals." McCann added that Van Hooydonk had failed to honour his contract in other ways, such as failing to turn up for Mick McCarthy's testimonial in Dublin during the spring and in refusing to speak to the media, including the club's Celtic View newspaper. "This is the main medium for the club to speak to fans who pay hard-earned money to watch them and buy their sponsors' clothes and boots," said the chairman. "There have been other incidents of a commercial and charitable nature where the player has refused to give his time, despite his contractual obligations." The Van Hooydonk affair comes at a time when Celtic could do with a break. In the past two weeks they have had to endure public ridicule as well as elimination from the

Coca-Cola and UEFA Cups and a 2-0 defeat by Rangers which, even this early in the season, jeopardises their chances of stopping their rivals from lifting a ninth successive title. The pantomime season opened on the eve of the Coca-Cola quarter-final with Hears, when a player leaked a story that there was dissatisfaction in the dressing-room over win bonuses. The timing of that outburst — which brought bemusement to Celtic supporters who bear of under-achievers earning weekly five-figure sums — was less than judicious. Since then Celtic have lost three matches out of four. The two defeats by Hamburg in the UEFA Cup are testimony to the gap between the Parkhead side and even the most ordinary of opponents. At the time Hamburg were thirteenth in the Bundesliga. "If there was a cabinet full of trophies here, you might bite the bullet and put up with some nonsense," said a somewhat rueful Burns.

### Guardian Crossword No 20,772

Set by Shed



- Across**
- 5 Female elk exchanged for money (5)
  - 6 Cuts restringing Egyptian leader, a pyramid builder (5)
  - 9 Films of men about to infiltrate secret service (6)
  - 10 Newspaper has no regret, in retrospect, about vegetable (8)
  - 11 Fish with a tail (4)
  - 12 Gasp around a concession — the man's a know-all (10)
  - 13 Knocks before visit to charge miscreant (11)
  - 18 Church leaders making

- Down**
- 1 Getting up, ready to fight — about time for sugar? (5)
  - 2 Community in moist condition may be off (5)
  - 3 It's used for drawing drink, getting Carol drunk (5)
  - 4 Sax appeal involving a brassy sound (5)
  - 5 Peg, drunk, embraces boor (5)
  - 7 Unusual extra accepts speaking part (5)
  - 8 Love to call on a musician (11)
  - 14 Unkempt, extremely sloppy, admitting infatuation with Holland (8)
  - 15 Big boy receives warning, being no longer organic (5)
  - 16 Wrong about sculptor being uplifted by injury (5)
  - 17 Fish craft capsized in Ireland (5)

**CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,771**

19 Peaceful type Elanore upholds (5)  
20 Comedian in charge in city (5)

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## Everton see their Weah clear

Ian Ross on Joe Royle's Italian mission to sign the global choice as player of the year

**E**VERTON have joined the chase for George Weah, the Milan and Liberia international striker who currently rejoices in the title of African, European and FIFA World Player of the Year. Arguably the most complete forward in world football, he is also being courted by Arsenal, who formally instal Arsène Wenger as their new manager this morning. Everton's manager Joe Royle flew to Italy on Sunday and watched covetously as Weah scored twice in Milan's 3-0 Serie A win over Perugia. Royle also took the opportunity to restate his interest in

Weah's team-mate Marco Simone, the Italian international forward who could be available at £8 million. Royle has almost £12 million to spend on new players but he has other irons in other fires. Last Thursday, for example, he lodged a bid of £1.6 million for Iwe Rieder, Manchester City's German striker. Royle would like to lure Weah away from Milan but he and Wenger are unconvinced that it is sound business practice to pay as much as £11 million for a 30-year-old footballer. All the same Royle is determined to bring play-

ers of impeccable pedigree to Goodison Park and a move for either Weah or Simone as well as Rieder cannot be discounted. Everton won for the first time in nine attempts at the weekend but Duncan Ferguson and Paul Rieadout, the club's two most experienced forwards, both underwent surgery last week and will be unavailable for the foreseeable future. Royle's journey to Italy was undertaken as speculation mounted on Merseyside that all is not well with Andrei Kanchelskis, who moved to Everton from Manchester United for a fee of £4.5 million 13 months ago. The Russian international was recently the subject of a well publicised bid from the Italian club

Florentina, something that may well have left him with a bad case of wanderlust. His sentiments yesterday were hardly calculated to reassure Royle of his willingness to see out the remaining three years of his contract at Goodison Park. "I am happy here but the Fiorentina thing was fact," he said. "I know they were interested in me. I was flattered by that interest but it is out of my hands. I am not looking to rock the boat but, when the time is right, why not Italy?" As for Everton, he added, "We need three or four more high-class players if we are to challenge. I have got nothing against the lads here, they are a great bunch. But if you want success you must buy it. That is the way of football."

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